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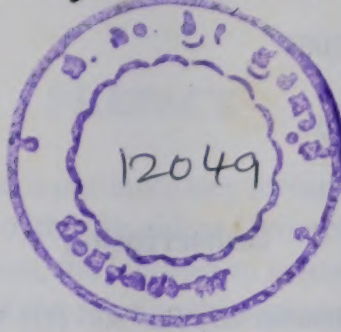
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PREFACE

Dravidian Studies is one more step forward in the furtherance of the main objectives of the Dravidian University. Making use of this Quarterly as a forum, the University intends to bring about a fuller understanding of the relationship among all the Dravidian languages, literature and culture. As an advanced Research Centre, the University has many ambitious programmes to create an ideal academic atmosphere particularly for the scholars who are engaged in the study and higher research in Dravidology. This kind of forum would facilitate the scholars and researchers to take up manifold research activities leading to indepth cross-cultural studies; thereby wider comparative methodologies can also be worked out by their valuable contributions.

Though a lot of progress is on, in the areas of language and literature, considerable attention has not been given by the scholars to comparative studies especially in Dravidian Folklore, Architecture, Paleoanthropology, Toponymy, etc. Dravidian history with special reference to migratory habits of Dravidian aborigines is yet another vast area to which only a few scholars have so far paid their attention. This endeavour, we hope will certainly provide suitable opportunities to the scholars in sharing their valuable thoughts.

The Journal is now presented to the scholars and readers with an earnest request to make use of this medium by contributing their valuable research papers and bestowing timely suggestions.

R. Sri Hari

EDITORIAL NOTE

When the proposal of bringing out a research periodical of this kind was brought to the notice of scholars of different disciplines of Dravidian Studies, a stream of encouraging words, appreciation, suggestions and good wishes came from all quarters of academic field. The main aim of this Journal is to build up a closer relationship among the scholars of comparative studies. By knowing more about social, cultural and historical affinities of our people, our kindred languages and literatures also naturally enrich themselves in all their dimensions. Therefore, the readers and scholars are the backbone of this academic organ. The interaction of scholars and readers through this medium, we hope, would go a long way in the nourishment and survival of this Quarterly. We look forward to the co-operation of all scholars of Dravidian Studies by their learned contributions to fulfil one of the important objectives of this budding University.

As can be noticed in later pages, the articles in this Inaugural Issue comprise varied subjects on Dravidology viz: religion, philosophy, linguistics, literature, social history and so on. The Editor intends to follow this pattern and the like in the subsequent issues of the Journal.

The scholars apart from their valuable contributions to the Journal are requested to express their views and suggestions to enable the University in making the Quarterly an important academic medium in the coming years.

V. Gopalakrishna

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THE RELIGION OF TIRUVALLUVAR*

T. Murugarathanam

1. Valluvar's Religion: Problems in its study:

The most bewildering aspect of the Tirukkural Muppāl studies, it seems, is its religion. Almost all the religions of India claim Valluvar's Muppāl as their own. Even the non-Indian Christianity does not hesitate to claim that work has its influence. On the one side of the claim there are theistic God-centered religions and on the other side there are atheistic rationalistic God-absent religions. These religions are opposing each other in regard to their philosophic and religious tenets. Where is Valluvar amidst the multiplicity of religions?

2. Indian Thought and Valluvar:

The characteristic feature of the Indian thought-complexes is that they are both philosophies and religions. They do not stop with the philosophical enquiry into the nature and do talk about the religious ultimate goal of it¹. In this Indian ideological context, one must see where Valluvar stands. It must be accepted that Valluvar's Muppāl- this is the title given by Valluvar to his creation - is not a treatise on the metaphysical, epistemological and ethical philosophy. It is simply a wonderful ethical socio-political work, whose concern is the world and the society, as the ancient work *Kaḷḷātam* said in a famous stanza². One must carefully and meticulously sift the religious ideas embedded in his work.

3. The Religious atmosphere of Valluvar's Age:

Before bringing out the religious ideology of Valluvar, it is necessary to have a picture of the religious atmosphere of this age. The author, whoever he may be, could not have been completely out of this religious atmosphere.

3.1 The ideological outlook of the ancient Tamil Society (upto 200 AD) is most worldly and life-affirmative. The upheld values

were love (*kātal*), munificence (*koṭai*), heroism (*maṛam*) and fame (*pukal*).

- 3.2 Then the pan-Indian Muppāl/Trivarga ideology viz., *Aram*, *poruḷ* and *inṇam*/dharma, *artha* and *kāma* came to occupy the thought of the society of the period upto 600 A.D. These values/goals were called *Purushārthas*. They originated individually from various unidentified sources including materialistic thought and floated throughout India.
- 3.3 There was another stage in the development of *Purushārtha* ideology after fifth century AD when the *Moksha Purushārtha* was added to it. The *Catur Varga* ideology was never thought of as an integrated one before the 5th century AD anywhere in India in any language.
- 3.4 There were in ancient India before the Christian era, the religious ideologies of orthodox Vedism, Brāhmaṇism and the heterodox Buddhism, Jainism, Ājīvikāism, etc. The Brāhmaṇism had its theoretical bases in the six philosophical systems viz., Sāṅkya, Yoga, Pūrvāmimāṃsā, Vedānta, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika. It must be noted that all these orthodox and heterodox ideologies had nothing to do with the concept of supreme creator God which is essential for making a religion³.
- 3.5 But in the course of time, polytheism, image worship, concept of supreme God and rites and rituals surged into the elitist great tradition from the popular little tradition. The common people expected the Gods to bestow grace and benefits ignoring their sins and guilts.
- 3.6 The doctrine of Karma and cycle of birth and death were fundamental to the Buddhist and Jain religions as well as to the Brāhmaṇism. When the doctrine of Karma was supreme and absolute there was no need for God. The presence of God became redundant in that thought context.
- 3.7 The Buddhism, Jainism and Ājīvikāism were concerned with the sufferings of the human beings and elimination of them by means of virtuous behaviour.
- 3.8 One Bhakti Movement emerged in the early medieval period of Tamil Nadu and the devotion to a personal God became all

important. It was believed that the grace of God would release the Ātman from the worldly bondages. The religions such as had their identify from this Movement Saivism, Vaishnavism and Śāktam (such religions).

The Buddhism and Jainism, both of which do not recognise a transcendental God, have also elevated their originators to the level of the supreme God, due to the influence of popular religions.

4. Indian Metaphysical basis:

The Indian thought-complexes were concerned mainly with three major philosophical things. They are 1) The material world 2) the life/Ātman or soul 3) The God, the creator and protector. It should not be a surprise to know that there were schools of thought which recognised only one thing, only two things and all the three things. The schools which recognised all the three things were only a few, the other schools being many.

Along with the endless enquiries into and discussion on these things, there are some major individual, social and religious problems, viz. the human sufferings due to ignorance, disease and transitoriness of life, worldly fetters and the endless cycle of birth and death. There was multifaceted search for liberation.

With this background of the history of Indian thought complexes, the subject of the religion of Tiruvalluvar may be taken up.

5. Valluvar's recognition of Soul and World:

It is very much clear that Valluvar recognises the existence of Life/Soul (Ātman) and material world. It must be noted that Valluvar never used the widely occurring Sanskrit word Ātman. The material world includes the human body and mind. They are permanent and immortal. They are separate in existence; but the soul sojourns in the human body; and that is temporary. The following quotation from the couplets gives.

Maṇanalam maṇṇuyirkkākkam (457)

'Goodness of mind will bring values to the soul'

Kākka porulā aṭakkattai; ākkam

Ataṇiṇuunku illai uyirkku (122)

'Cherish the self-control as value; there is no greater value than this to the living soul.'

Pukkil amaintiṇṇu kollō uṭampinul

Tuccil irunta uyirkku (340)

'Is no permanent settlement yet found to the soul that it is still temporarily resting in a human body?'

Aṇpōṭi yainta valakkeṇpa āruyirkku

Eṇpōṭi yaianta totarpu (73)

'It is believed that the link of the Soul with the body is the result of its link with love'.

Uṭampōt uyiriṭai eṇṇamarṇ aṇṇa

maṭantaiyōṭ emmiṭai naṭpu (1122)

'The relation that the soul and body have, is like that between the lover and loved'

The soul-matter duality has been well brought out in these couplets. Moreover, the Vaḷḷuvar's view is that the soul is not one; they are many. Examples are: 'palluyir' (many souls) 322), 'maṇṇuyir ellām' (all the souls)

The material world is different from the soul.

Ex:

Mārānīr vaiyam (710)

'The world with sea round'

vaiyattul vālvāaṅku vālpavaṇ (50)

'A person who lives in the world as he should live'.

Kutampai taṇittoliya pulparan tarṛē

Uṭampōtu uyiriṭai naṭpu (338)

‘Leaving the nest bare, the birds fly away; such is the temporary link between the body and soul’.

The last couplet clearly shows that the body, a material substance, is different from the *uyir*, i.e. soul.

6. Release of the soul from the worldly fetters:

The soul is independent and free. It is not the nature (or habit) of the soul to live in the body. It is due to ignorance and attachment to the worldly pleasures that the soul comes into union with the body. The relationship between the soul and the body is a serious problem for many of the Indian religions, including Valluvar’s.

Valluvar’s ideology worries about the cycle of birth and death with the soul. It pleads for the end of this cycle and advocates the naturalisation of the soul, i.e. disappear into the vacuum. He uses the term ‘*pērā iyarkai*’ to indicate this theory. This means the release of the soul from the fetters of the world. This is widely considered as ‘*Moksha*’ in the Indian tradition.

7. Ways and Means of Release:

There are some ways and means for the release of the soul. According to Valluvar they are discipline of the body and mind, control of senses, apprehension of knowledge and extirpation of desire, (or attachment ‘*avā*’).

For the discipline of the mind and body Valluvar suggests non-violent conduct, veracity (*vāymai*) , absence of fraud and anger (*kaḷlāmai* and *vekuḷāmai*) and detachment (*paṛṇmai*). For the control of senses he gives this couplet:

Aṭal veṇṭum aintaṇ pulattai; viṭal veṇṭum

Vēṇṭiya ellām oruṅku (343)

‘Perceptions of the five must be forsaken; along with other things as far as many’.

He talks about this under *Turavu* (Renunciation which is not an order or *āshrama* in life; but simply detachment from worldly things).

As a pre-condition to the final release of the soul, Valluvar prescribes apprehension of the truth of the things: earthly world, Heaven, material and non-material things, birth, birth-causing folly, pains and sorrows, lust-anger-delusion and non-returning path (*vārā neri*).

The final dictum of Valluvar for the release of the soul is the extirpation of desire, which is the cause of birth, which is nothing but pain and sorrow. The absence of desire is absence of pain and presence of happiness, bliss.

Inpam itaiyarāt intum avaennum

Tunpattuḷ tunpam ketin (369)

The extirpation of desire brings in the ultimate release of the soul and causes the absorption of the soul into the unchanging or non-returning nature.

Ārā iyarkai avānippiṇ annilaiyē

Pērā iyarkai tarum (370)

In widely used term it is 'moksha'. But it must be noted that Valluvar does not use this Sanskrit word 'moksha' anywhere in his work; neither the Tamil word 'vītu'.

Simply speaking, it seems, according to Valluvar's ideology, that if the immortal soul desires to take a birth in order to enjoy worldly pleasures, it will be born in the world; if it does not desire the birth, it will terminate it. It should be pointed out here that the soul according to Valluvar is completely free and independent and it is not under the control of any transcendental supreme agent.

8. Absence of God:

What is about the third major philosophical element, the supreme being, the transcendental creator God, said in the Valluvar's work. Valluvar has not said anything about the state of the soul or its rest after its release. Not only this, he has

not brought in openly in his ideological scheme the supreme being and related it to either the world or to the soul. (The commentary of Manakkutavar, the first commentator, of Valluvar's Muppāl followed by others later, makes this point clear). This means that Valluvar recognises only two basic metaphysical things; the soul and the world; Purusha and Prakriti in terms of Sāṅkya philosophy.

9. The puzzling first Chapter Kaṭavuḷ Vālttu⁴:

What about the first Chapter of Muppāl 'Kaṭavuḷ Vālttu'? It seems to recognise the God. The most important factor to be considered in this regard is the differences in their views between the 'Kaṭavuḷ Vālttu' and 'meyyūnartal avāvaruttal'. While the 'Kaṭavuḷ Vālttu' prescribes the worship and surrender to the God or a godly - godlike person for 'crossing the ocean of births', the other two chapters prescribe 'the knowledge of truth and extirpation of desire'. Thus these chapters are totally different in approaches, and contents.

The problem with the Chapter 'Kaṭavuḷ Vālttu' does not conclude with this. There is the serious question of whom this Chapter deals with. Is he the supreme God or a godlike human? The first commentator Manakkutavar (of the 11th century AD) does not bring in the supreme God in his commentary. The usage 'iraivan' (4) has been given the meaning of 'talaivan' (headman or leader). All through his commentary the theism is absent.⁵

But Parimēlalakar, a later commentator interprets the first Chapter purely on the basis of theism. But inside the work (Pāyiram aside) he tries to interpret the words in round about ways in order to bring in the concept of supreme God. For example, he interprets 'cārpū' (359) and 'cemporul' (358) as God!

Some scholars (like Prof. T.P.M.) think that Valluvar did not want to speak out his theistic theories in his Muppāl so that it should be acceptable to all schools of thought. There is no need for Valluvar for such hiding. His Muppāl must be taken as complete in itself in regard to his philosophical and religious views.⁶

(The contradictions between the first four Chapters of Muppāl and the latter 'Meyyūṇartal' and 'Avā Aṛuttal' (ch.36, 37) are apparent. The History of Tamil Language, Literature and Thought suggests that the first four Chapters might have been attached by a Jain or Buddhist monk)

10. *Ūl*, Karma and the worlds:

Generally, the concept Karma (*ūl*, *vinai*, *pāl* in Tamil) is an integrated aspect of many religions of India. Valluvar has a Chapter on '*ūl*'. But he has not related this concept to the aspect of the liberation of the soul. Some of the karmas may cause birth and life. They may not be the ultimate cause of the life. They may have restricted ethical values. Valluvar believes in three worlds: 1) Earthly world; 2) Heavenly world, 3) Nether world, i.e. Hell. According to Valluvar, people go to these worlds to experience the fruits of their Karma, and return to the earthly home '*Vān Ulaku*' is not the Moksha.

For Valluvar the concept of 'ūḷ' may be different from 'Karma'. He uses the term 'iyarkai' as an alternative to 'ūḷ'. He has not used the terms 'viṇai, karma or vithi'. By 'ūḷ', he may indicate the natural, physical, biological accidents and calamities which are not under the control of the human beings. The Ājivikas have held similar theories, who were present at the age of Valluvar in Tamil Nadu.

11. Valluvar's uniqueness:

Valluvar's Muppāl has been the only literary work in the whole of India throughout the ages, which deals with all the three 'urutip poruḷ' / *Purushārthas* looking at them as one ideology of life. He has been the only author in the whole of India throughout the ages who puts enormous emphasis on the family-love life and the socio-political life, perhaps with the small exception of Kautalya and Vātsyāyana.

Valluvar's ideology is life-affirmation. He idealises many aspects of human life. At the same time he points out the limitations of the human life as well as the Nature's Human beings are free and not under the control of any

transcendental Super being. According to Valluvar 'the humans write their own destiny.'

This is the Religion of Valluvar.

Notes

- * Paper presented at the National Seminar on Tiruvalluvar (4-5 October, 2000) at Chennai.
1. Their argument runs as follows: the goals of western philosophy are the acquisition of knowledge, for Indian philosophy, is only a means to self-realisation (Moksha). That is, Indian philosophy goes much farther or deeper than Western Philosophy, it begins where the latter ends", pp.308-309. Karma, Causation and Retributive, Morality by Rajendra Prasad.
2. "Camayak kanakkar mativalik kūrātu ulakiyal kūrīp poruḷ itu eṇṇa Valluvan" , Kallālam, 11th century A.D. work. Mu. Arunacalam, Tamil Ilakkiya Varalāru, 11th century, Gandhi Vidyālayam, Māyūram, 1971.
3. "Indians worshiped a God, but Indian philosophy never recognised a God as creator and controller of the world. In philosophy man is supreme and reason dominates his thoughts, in actual life, there is a gradation even among men, and such a gradation is allowed to extend to regions beyond man, to the region of gods, in which man had faith". - C. Kunhan Raja, *Some Fundamental Problems in Indian Philosophy*, 2nd edition. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1974.
4. "The first four chapters which make up an introduction, are a puzzle, in relation to the whole book. The first chapter speaks of God or 'Kaṭavuḷ', the second deals with 'the importance of rains', the third speaks of the greatness of those who have renounced; the last of the four chapters emphasises the 'Dharma or Aṇam'. Attempts have been made to connect these four topics with 'Kaṭavuḷ Vālttu, Koṭi Nilai, Kantali and Valli' mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam*. But their relevance to the subjects treated in *Tirukkuraḷ* as a whole is not clear. It is for consideration whether these four topics may not refer to God, Nature, the ideal man and 'Dharma' as forming the very basis of this book". T.P. Menakshisundaran, *Philosophy of Tiruvalluvar*, M.K. University. 1969, p.34.

5. "God is not defined and therefore... all the religions have accepted this *Katavul Vāittu* as equally applicable to their conflicting conceptions of God.

The non-partisan and universal approach of Tiruvalluvar becomes evident in the Sanskrit phrase '*Ādi Bhagavan*' which epitomizes all the conception of God known to that language." T.P.M., *Philosophy of Tiruvalluvar*, pp. 34-35.

"Though it will not be possible to weave out a complete philosophy of God out of these descriptions of God-therefore it is clear that he does not want to do one-his conception of God is that of the ethical and ideal goal: T.P.M., *Philosophy of Tiruvalluvar*, p.36.

"Attempts have been made to rely on certain phrases to prove his attachment to a particular school of thought, but they have not been accepted as conclusive by many scholars. The most that the phrases may show is Valluvar's familiarity with, "and the provisional acceptance of, certain Ideas as his own, in conformity with his eclectic approach. The fact that there is not a single definite phrase to help one to label him as a Jain or Buddhist or Vaishnavite or Saivite is significant. It is clear, therefore, that he is refusing to be labelled", T.P.M., *Philosophy of Tiruvalluvar*, p.6.

6. "He believes in God, the inner inspiration of the Universal Dharma.

... But in his descriptions of the three-fold goals of life Valluvar does not want to force others to accept his fundamental beliefs. He therefore, chooses to discuss the three-fold goal without clubbing them together under the title of Dharma. He also does not want to emphasise any missionary life for all. He also may be presumed to lay down his ideas of the three-fold goal of life, without reference to God or Nature. This is not to say that he relinquishes these fundamental ideas. Though he is certain indeed that this belief should be the inspiration, he is tolerant enough to appreciate other point of view and to lay down the scheme of life as acceptable to all. His inner inspiration cannot be hidden completely; but he explains it in a way suitable for others. Even in the introduction he has really attempted to follow the path of least resistance; but still others may not give these ideas the fundamental position which he will give them in his scheme of things", T.P.M., *Philosophy of Tiruvalluvar* p.43.

For an elaborate discussion on this topic see *Valluvarai Arināmam* by T. Murugarathanam, Madurai, 2000.

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ETHICS OF HUMANIST VALLUVAR AND RATIONALIST VĒMANA*

A.B. Sai Prasad

'Ethics', according to the *New American Encyclopaedia*, is the branch of Philosophy which deals with morals in the same way the aesthetics deals with beauty and epistemology with possibilities of human knowledge¹. This time-tested science of morals investigates the reasons for and forms of human conduct (Ibid). Like a rationalist it sensibly puts the question what is right and what is wrong. It never stops here. It goes one step further and seeks explanation about the rightness or wrongness of certain actions and to the goodness and badness of the motives and ends of such actions². Considering this aspect of ethics *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says:

'It is not a positive science but a normative science'.

it continues:

'ethics is not primarily occupied with actual character of human conduct but with its ideal, not so much with what human conduct is as with what ought to be'.³

Majority of our moral philosophers have, without mincing words, stated that the

'business of ethics merely consists in cleaning up current conceptions and unfolding the ultimate presuppositions involved in them' (Ibid).

Though it is not the specific function of ethics to discover new moral ideas, humanist Valluvar and investigative journalist type rationalist Vēmana, have, by taking the circumstances of their times into consideration, formulated new codes of conduct through their authentic writings. The main object of their writings is, to borrow the expression from Thomas

Handy, not to get a man into heaven but to get heaven in him⁴.

Tiruvalluvar of Tamil Nadu and Vēmana of Andhra Pradesh (In those days the country was not divided in the name of Language) were the powerful seismographs of their times. Being the flesh and blood of society they have correctly and honestly recorded the upheavals of their respective contemporary societies. Valluvar belongs to the later half of first century B.C⁵. The then society was flooded with the philosophies of three major religions namely Jainism, Buddhism and Vedic Brāhmanism.

The Rishabha Deva cult of Ahimsa had gained momentum. Buddhism was slowly loosing its hold over, the society particularly in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. The Vedic school of thought was just waiting in its wings to gain entry into the lives of general public. His efforts to amalgamate the aforesaid three schools of thought have culminated in the form of his magnum opus *Tirukkural*. The three parts of his works throw a search light on the three kingdoms of those days namely Chera, Chola and Pandya three schools of thought-Jain, Buddha and Vedic and three *Purusharthas* i.e. *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*. It is in fact the confluence of 'Righteousness, Honesty and Truthfulness'.

About Vēmana's time nothing can be definitely said. Critics of Vēmana feel that he might have lived in the 16th or 17th Century A.D. The dreadful disease of caste system had spread like wild fire and had engulfed the society. Religion and state were fighting with each other to gain supremacy over the other. Vēmana according to some scholars was a part of administration. Having known the society of his times Vēmana lunched his verbal attack on the beliefs, the conventions and the misconceptions of those days. In his attempt to call a spade, a spade, he did not spare even Gods. He could successfully stir the time-worn thoughts of the society by creating new ethical ripples. Both Valluvar and Vēmana have through their appealing poetic talent, strived to see that the timeless, ever green phoenix of ethics rises once again in this land of honey and milk.

Valluvar and Vēmana have preferred the ethic of 'absolute good' to relative good⁶. They wanted to establish the fact that the God is but one. Tiruvalluvar starts his work with the ethnic truth: *Akara mutala elutt ellām āti pakavān mutar ulaku* (All the letters of the alphabet have the letter 'a' as the beginning. Similarly the world has its beginning the first Lord the All-knower). Vēmana too emphasises the fact that the God is the 'All Knower'. He says: *Darsanamulu vēru daivam nokkaṭi*⁷. (Different schools of thought may say different things But God is one).

Like Valluvar who glorifies the importance of 'a', Vēmana feels that "Om" is an important letter. Here is the relevant stanza: He that will not be entangled in the forest (Akshara) letters but considering the (nobleness) charms (Akshara) the indestructible and in this earth adores the prime letter (Om) this man shall become imperishable (Akshaya). This is sufficient (*Verses of Vēmanas* C.P. Brown, Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi, Hyderabad, 1967. Verse 114 p.3). Vēmana further explains the universalness of God thus:

'He exists in the shape of the universe and is the general soul. He is the all witnessing spirit. He hath truly converted himself into the soul. Look at the Universal world. He is himself all and even exists in truth'. (Ibid, Verse No.162).

According to our age-old ethical belief we are all puppets in the hand of the Omnipotent God. God, the Grand Master moves us and we the pawns move according to his direction. As poet Iqbal says '*Wohi hotā hai jo manjor e - khuda hotā*' (Only the will of god prevails and nothing else). Both Valluvar and Vēmana believed in the saying. "Mother gives birth to children but each brings with himself his destiny. About destiny - both good as well as bad- Valluvar says

'If evil destiny appears it will produce folly. But when good destiny occurs it will lead to the expansion of knowledge' (A. Chakravarthi - Kural 372).

In Kural 376 too Valluvar points out this eternal truth:

'What is destined not to be your own will slip out however firmly you hold it. Whatever is destined to be yours stick on to you even when you cast it away'. (A. Chakravarthi).

Like Thulasi Das, the bard of *Ramcharitmānas*, ... *hogā wahi jo rām rachi rakha* (Only according to the writings written on forehead) Vēmana too feels that no body can alter the lines that are inscribed by the God on our forehead. The writing written by the hand perishes (spoil) not though thou blot it out (Spoil it) what is written by fate cannot be done away with water. The writing of fate in the forehead will not be gone though thou rub it with sorrow (Verses of Vēmana - Stanza No.601 p.No.148) Drawing one example from the *Rāmāyana* he explains the indelible quality being deluded he bound his head with merely matted hair. Thus intentions avail nothing or for fate rules all (Verses of Vēmana Stanza 914 p.220)

Ethically Valluvar and Vēmana were against caste system. A. Chakravarthi in his introduction to *Tirukkural* says: He (Valluvar) did not recognise the legal system either civil or criminal based upon caste distinction. In this respect also it is distinctly in conflict with the ancient Hindu ideal of Law and Justice (p Ixii). Valluvar considers that all men are equal. In Kural 972 he highlights this point thus. *Paṟappokkum ellā uyirrkum ciṟappoṇā ceytolil vēṟṟumai yāṇ* (All men are born equal. The difference among them are entirely due to their occupation). The word occupation, according to some critics, glorifies caste system. In Kural 134 we come across a statement in support of Brāhmins who, according to *Manu Dharma Śāstra*, belong to superior caste. The Kural reads: If a Brāhmin forgets the Vedas he can relearn them with slight effort, but if he loses right conduct he forfeits his higher status in society which is his birth right (A. Chakravarthi). As far as condemnation of caste system is concerned we find greater vehemence in Vēmana's verses. The reason for this vehemence may be the influence of Sarvajña on Vēmana.⁹ Sarvajña says:

Nādevudondē bhūmi, kuḍivudondē nīru
Suḍuvagni yondē enutiralu
Kula gōtra naḍuve yettanādu Sarvajña (Ibid)

(The land on which we walk is the same. The water we drink is the same. The same fire burns us. Then how come the question of caste and creed arise).¹⁰ Vēmana rather prefers to use fiery words to condemn the caste system of the society. Look at this stanza: 'Why dost again and again abuse as *parayar* (Māla)? Are not his blood and flesh and thine one? Of what caste is he who is immingled with him? The deity animates his entire works' (Verses of Vēmana 893). In another stanza he says: 'Why take thy caste and pride thyself on it. The plant grows where the ground is prepared'. (Verses of Vēmana 859).

As per A. Chakravathy's observation, Valluvar was a Jain and a staunch follower of Rishabha Deva's Ahimsa i.e. non-violence. For the propagation of this cardinal ethic of Jainism Valluvar has devoted Chapter XXXIII of his *Tirukkuraḷ*. Mahatma Gandhi who knew Tamil would have drawn inspiration from this chapter. The world knows how successful he was in his life. In his famous Kural (323) he places the ethic 'not to kill' on a highest pedestal. He says: 'Not to kill is the one good deed par excellence. Next to this comes the virtue of speaking the truth' (A. Chakravathy). In Kural 329 he compares those who indulge in killing others to Chandālas: Those who are engaged in the work of killing are considered to be Chandālas, of heinous occupation, by those who are able to discern evil wherever it is (A. Chakravathy). Valluvar did not believe in the age old ethic 'eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth'. In Kural 313 he says the policy of retaliation is bad. He goes one step further and says do good to even those who have harmed you. The Kural 314 says: The best way to punish the person who caused injury to you is to make him hang his head in shame by doing good in return: Though Vēmana was not a Jain by birth or by faith he firmly believed in the ethic "Ahimsa Paramodharma". There are a number of stanzas where Vēmana comes down heavily on those who indulge in killings. He says: What are we to think of the slaughters of these cruel

half caste wretches (born out of the limits of the caste) who being themselves retained slain animals without any offence and guilty and eat them (*Verses of Vēmana* 582). Like Vaḷḷuvar Vēmana too compares the slaughterers to Chandālas and says they are better positioned than the slaughterers. He writes: "The height of excellence is to abstain from slaying. Thus say the Brahmins, Lords of earth and still commit slaughter of animals in sacrifice. Better is the Chandāla who devours dead cattle". (*Verses of Vēmana* 856). He has condemned them in choicest words. Those wretches (lives) that outfully destroy animals while either sleeping, drinking water or standing still and singing shall at the end in the same manner perish (*Verses of Vēmana* 1077). Vēmana firmly believes in the ethic that those who preach by sword will be eliminated by sword. In the stanza: "*Campa dagina yati śatruvu tana cēta*" Vēmana says you pardon even that enemy who has to be executed. 'Conciliate him by goodness and bid depart, this itself is death to him'. In this similar context Vaḷḷuvar used the word 'shame'. Vēmana in his typical style uses the word 'death'.

Vaḷḷuvar being a house-holder lays down certain ethics for them. According to him "Elders on death bed, God, Guests, Relatives and oneself, to cherish these five is the main duty of the householder (Kural 43). A Householder is expected to support ascetics, the indigents and the destitute ones who take refuge in his house in their last moments (Kural 42). Whoever meticulously follows the ethics of Vaḷḷuvar is bound to get into heaven without any difficulty. He says: 'If a house-holder lives his life without swerving from the path of righteousness ordained for him he will occupy the foremost place among all those that strive spiritual realisation (Kural 47). Vaḷḷuvar is of the opinion that the happiness of 'Grhastha' (Householder) depends on his understanding and virtuous wife. Stressing this particular point he states: The glory of the house-hold is in the hands of his wife. If she fails in _this all other glory in life is as if it did not exist (Kural 52). Vaḷḷuvar frowns at people who indulge in adultery, woman who are not chaste and fair sex which takes pleasure in immoral traffic. The qualities which his wife Vasuki had - atleast as per belief - are the ones he prescribes for a housewife. The expression which we find in

Kural 55 is similar to the expressions of John Milton who is supposed to be a Puritan. Milton says:

'woman has to worship God through her husband and not directly'.

Vēmana being a rationalistic ascetic holds diametrically opposite views about women. He adores an ideal house wife but admonishes characterless women who is given for carnal pleasures. Valluvar in Kural 56 defines an ideal wife. Vēmana in his style describes the qualities of wife who is not devoted to her husband. He calls her fate but not mate. Here is that relevant stanza:

'A woman who gives no food or drink is no true wife to her husband. She is rather his destiny. The husband who is united with such a woman perishes without chance of being born again. He will perish degraded and become a reptile' (*Verses of Vēmana 752*).

Having praised the ideal house wife - he wants her to be a better half and not a bitter half - he condemns women in forcible words: composed of desire and cupidity and of stubborn hearts are women. What can we say the conduct of women. Faithfulness is their chief virtue. They are in other respects figs, fair without but worms within (*Verses of Vēmana 753*).

Valluvar and Vēmana prescribed some social as well as spiritual ethics also. But stress on the importance of truth. Valluvar in Kural 292 says that if *asatya* (lie) can do good to all that *asatya* is better than *satya*. In Kural 300 Valluvar takes truth to sublime heights that there is nothing more valuable than truth. Here is the translation: 'Of all the virtues that we learn by study of sacred scriptures we do not find anything more valuable than truth'. Vēmana out-rightly condemns falsehood. He says that alone is mouth (which does not speak falsehood) that daily speaks falsehood is not a mouth but a mouth below (*Verses of Vēmana 885*).¹¹ Vēmana further says that a person in public service and who constantly moves with

people should always speak truth only. Only then he will be respected (*Vēmana Padya Ratnākaram*, 2405).

Being very noble in their behaviour as well as in their writings both Vaḷḷuvar and Vēmana speak about the ethical qualities of Ascetics. Kural 981 and 987 speak about that Justice Maharajan touching on this aspect of Kural says: Tiruvaḷḷuvar conceives his 'cāṇṛōr' to be a sage who has liquidated his ego, who has an unclouded vision of ultimate reality who is in a perpetual state of bliss, who is full at compassion for his fellowman, who has a profound concern for all lives that are in distress on earth and who, without any limitations of caste, creed, community or nation rushes to help anyone in distress and thus practises universal love¹² Vēmana in very simple words explains the qualities of a Yogin thus:

'he who looks upon rain, mind and sunshine as equal and abstain from thinking of honour or the like and continue in subjection. This is a stout hearted saint'. (*Verses of Vēmana*).

Vaḷḷuvar and Vēmana are of the opinion that the wealth of a rich man should be spent on worthy causes which can benefit poor. Vaḷḷuvar has in chapter 22 (Kural 211 to 220) given details about how wealth has to be distributed. Vēmana says a rich should arrange for community feast - *Saha paṅkti bhōjanam*. He should strive to wipe out caste discrimination. (*Vēmana Padya Ratnākaram* 280).

Both Vaḷḷuvar and Vēmana have propagated pure vegetarianism: They were against the consumption of liquor. Both have said that the anger is to be conquered and desire to be curbed. They have stated that all that is white is not milk and all that is black is not water. They have warned humanity not to go by the outward. In Kural 279 he says judge not men by their appearance, judge them by their deeds. Vēmana says "salt and comphor look alike, but if you examine and try the flavours then tastes differ". Thus do the virtuous differ from the ordinary. (Translation by G.N. Reddy). About the virtuous Vēmana Says: Only that man is living who feels the sufferings of his fellowman as being his own (Tr. by N.D. Sundaravelu).

As far as the ethics of four *Puruṣārthas*: *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Moksha* are concerned one finds fundamental difference between Vaḷḷuvar and Vēmana. Vaḷḷuvar has spoken about only the first three *Puruṣārthas*. The critics of Vaḷḷuvar are of the opinion that Vaḷḷuvar did not take up *Moksha* because the by - product of the first three *Puruṣārtha* will be *Moksha*. That which one automatically gets by following *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* need not be stressed upon. Vēmana, being a Yogi-critics like Gandham Appa Rao may not relish the Yogi. Suffix or Prefix to Vēmana's name - is of the opinion that unless you give up the fourth one i.e. *Moksha* give up the other three. i.e. *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*. (*Vēmana Padya Ratnākaram* 1213).

As different rivers flow towards the same ocean, Humanist Vaḷḷuvar and Rationalist Vēmana approach the same truth from different directions. Having viewed the truth from different angles they have once again proved the fact that truth is one, sages call it variously. (*Ekam sat vipra bahudhā vadanti*). Though the time and language divide them, Vaḷḷuvar and Vēmana their common ideology and thought, unite them. They are the sentinels of our ancient land Bhārat. We owe our past, present and ever future, to them.

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TRADITION VERSUS MODERNITY: A STUDY OF SOCIAL REFORMS AMONG THE NAMBŪDIRIS OF KERALA

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO V.T. BHATTATIRIPAD)

K.K.N. Kurup

The national movement in India had been one of the major trend setters of social reforms among different communities in the 20th century. The Nambūdiris, a traditional social group of Kerala, had undergone radical changes in its attitudes and practices in the awakened situation created by nationalism. The traditional social behaviour of this elite landowning group was exposed to criticism of its own younger generations who promoted nationalist ideology among its members. An organisation, called Yogakshema Mahasabha was founded in Trissur in 1910-11 with several units in the rural areas. Its objective was to eliminate the reactionary practices of the community and lead it along the path of social nobility, modernity and progress. As such it stressed the need of English education for its members.

The organisation of Yogakshemam, as an agency for social reform among its members prepared their minds to accept English education. The aspiration of the elite for bureaucratic positions was one of the objectives of this movement. However they were not ready to accept radical reforms as in the case of Brahma Samaj and other movements of Bengal. They were still bound with tradition, centuries-old rituals and customs of their social group.

The early social reformers of Kerala like Narayana Guru and Chattampi Swamikal initiated reform movements not for any particular group, but for multi-social groups of Kerala society. They criticised the institution of caste and strengthened humanism in an authoritarian social system. Their criticism against the priest-hood, Brahmin theocracy and temple culture was a moving force behind the emergence of Yogakshemam, the organisation which propagated mild social reforms among the Nambūdiris. However these activities had

no much impact on this social group, particularly, the lower and the middle sections.

In a social environment like this, the Malabar Rebellion of 1921, had taken place and that was a major threat on the institution of caste. The rigid caste rules and the practices like untouchability had lost their hold on caste groups in the process of the rebellion. The Nambūdiris were compelled to observe special rituals for the restoration of their caste status, after its suppression. Kumaran Asan, a great poet of Malayalam, wrote his well-known poetic work, *Duravastā* adopting an incident of the rebellion as a theme for it. A Nambūdiri girl, Savithri, took asylum in the hut of one Chathan, a Pulaya agricultural labourer, in the midst of the rebellion. Finally the girl found in him her life partner and married him. The orthodox sections of society raised criticism against this literary work as an affront to the poet who had given Savithri in marriage to a Pulaya boy, ridiculing all traditions and customs. In fact this piece of literature was a bomb-shell on traditional society. It is not the question that how many Savithris had married the depressed labourers like Chathans, but the notion of a marriage like this was itself a bomb shell on the traditional Nambūdiri social groups. The trends of nationalism and social reform movements under which the Kerala society was passing through were responsible for this poetic vision of an inter-caste marriage. The Nambūdiri youths committed to nationalism, social progress and westernisation found the Yogakshemam programmes insufficient for their social growth.

The youngsters like V.T. Bhattatirippad (V.T) and K.N. Kuttan Nambudiri organised a Nambudiri Yuvajana Sangham and published a Malayalam monthly *Unni Namboodiri* to propagate progressive and radical ideas among the members of the community for a social transition. V.T. started his life in vedic studies, but remained unlettered during his boyhood. For sometime he was a temple priest. He started to learn Malayalam alphabets from a school girl and himself committed to the process of education. Gradually he became a nationalist and was much inspired by Balagangadhar Tilak. He was a volunteer in the Congress session at Ottappalam in 1920.

When the Indian National Congress met in Ahmedabad in 1921, he was a representative to this session. He had not only cherished the anti-Brahmin ideas of the reformers like Narayana Guru and Chattampi Swamikal but also the anti-British ideals of Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues. He became an ardent nationalist and social reformer. E.M.S. Namboodiripad and other radicals also joined this emerging new movement which had propagated social reforms among the Nambūdiris.

The reforms and progressive ideals initiated by V.T. were first intended to change the traditional moorings of his own community. However in the long run the movement stood by all democratic progressive activities. His acticles in the *Unni Namboodiri* and his composition of a theatrical play like *From the Kitchen to the Stage* ("Aṭukkaḷayil Ninnu Arangattēkku") (1929) were against all superstitions of the Nambūdiris.

It is the custom of the Nambūdiri family that the youngsters should not marry in their own caste. These members were known as 'Appans'. In his play an Appan says:

(I) can be born as a dog, as a cat and as any wretched creature; but not as an Appan in a Nambūdiri house.

Like Rajaram Mohan Roy and Jhotiba Phule, he was an ardent advocate of widow remarriage, for centuries it was prohibited for a Brahmin woman. However a male, even an eighty years old man can marry a sweet seventeen, without any social criticism and make her a widow within a few years. Here V.T. had turned to be an advocate of gender equality. Further the Nambūdiri women had always to keep in the closed rooms and also carry a palm leaf umbrella as a 'purdha' while going out. All such traditional practices were criticised in his play. It was staged in several Brahmin villages and its impact was impressive.

In 1933, V.T. delivered a lecture entitled "Now we can burn the temples in Cochin". A warrant for his arrest was issued by the Cochin Government against this inflammatory speech and that was returned by the District Collector of

Malabar. As a nationalist he had actively participated in the Guruvayur Satyagraha referendum. In 1935, he established a house near Pattambi known as 'Ulbudha Keralam' consisting of several families in a single house on the model of a commune. Gradually his attention was turned to promote inter-caste marriages. He was the priest for several such marriages. Under his influence Brahmin ladies like Aryapallan came to the forefront of national movement.

Gradually his association with the 'Yogakshemam' was terminated and he was considered by the elders as a communist. By 1950 he resigned from the Indian National Congress and till his demise in 1980 turned to be culturalist and recollected many of his activities through the works like '*The Tear and Dream*'. His short stories also had reflected many a social evil of his community.

SANSKRIT INFLUENCE ON TAMIL*

K. Nachimuthu

Historical Background

Historical references found in Sanskrit literatures suggest that the contact between Sanskrit speaking North India and South might have started around 1000 B.C. and it might have reached its high point around fourth century B.C. i.e. at the time of Kātyāyana, the grammarian.

The references in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (B.C 1000) about Andhras, in *Aitareya Ārṇyaka* about Ceras, in *Sutta Nipata* of the Buddhist canon about *Dakṣiṇa patha*, in Kātyāyana's commentary on Pāṇini (fourth century B.C), in *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and Greek accounts about Pandya country, in Baudhāyana's *Dharma Śāstra* about the cousin marriage of the South, in *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* about Agastya legend, Paraśurāma legend, etc. give a rough picture of the contacts which is generally described as Aryanisation in the historical literatures (Nilakanta Sastri, 1966). The Asokan Brahmi inscriptions in the South and the Asokan's embassy to Sri Lanka for proselytisation are evidences in the historical period for the growing contacts between the North and the South.

The presence of Dravidian languages from Iran to Nepal and down South, and the Dravidian substratum in Marathi, Gujarati and Sindhi, the presence of Dravidian words in Vedas and the adoption of retroflex sounds in Indo-Aryan (Emeneau M.B. 1956; Subramonian V.I. 1961) indicate the survivals of Dravidian elements even after the influential contacts of the Indo-Aryan speakers with the Dravidians in the North. While Aryanisation, a process of acculturation was complete in the North resulting in the wiping out, of the Non-Aryan languages and cultures, in the South the indigenous cultures and languages survived the onslaughts and successfully reemerged by adopting at various degrees the languages and cultures of

the North. This can be seen in the predominance of Sanskrit elements found in the later written texts in the historical period of Tamil and other Dravidian languages, cases of planned suppression of Dravidian heritage was also there as is illustrated by the Story of *Brhatkathā* of Guṇādhya.

The Sanskrit and other middle Indo-Aryan languages like Pāli and Prākṛit exerted tremendous influence on the Dravidian and was one of the factors that mark the disintegration of the Proto South Dravidian into modern South Dravidian languages. A comparative study of the Sanskrit influence on different Dravidian languages throw light on the different socio-political factors that shaped the history of these languages.

The history of Tamil language, which possesses the earliest written records in the form of Sangam literatures, *Tolkāppiyam*, the grammatical works, Brahmi Tamil Inscriptions on stone, pottery and coin portray various facts of the contacts between the Dravidian and Sanskritic languages of the North of India in the beginning of the historical times. The later literatures, inscriptions, grammatical works, lexicographic works and scientific literatures speak volumes of the unabated influence of Sanskrit on Tamil language and literatures which can be studied in detail in the following article.

Sanskrit influence on Tamil Language

The Indo-Aryan influence on Tamil language can be seen from the point of view of

1. Scripts and writing systems.
2. Phonemic system (phonemic inventory and phonemic structure)
3. Morpho-phonemic system.
4. Grammatical system (Morphology and syntax)
and
5. Semantics and vocabulary items.

Scripts and writing systems

The earliest of the writing script for Tamil was known as *Damiḷi* or Southern Brahmi which has close similarities with the Northern Brahmi, used in Asokan inscriptions. There are two views about the origin of Brahmi. One school of thought which includes scholars like T.N. Subramonian (1962), K.G.Krishnan (1974, 1983), Gift Siromony (1982, 1983) on the basis of certain evidences and possibilities hold the view that Asokan Brahmi was an adaptation from Southern Brahmi. Scholars like T.P. Meenakshi Sundaram (1974), S.V. Shanmugham (1989) feel that apart from the evolution of the scripts the arrangement of the Tamil alphabet was also influenced by Sanskrit.

Whatever may be the final truth, the following points should be kept in mind before arriving at a final conclusion. In the Tamil country, no earliest inscription has so far come to light in languages other than Tamil and the presence of some other symbols on the potsherds (e.g. Kodumanal Excavations). See the article by K. Rajan (1989) suggests the existence of some other indigenous writing system which must have been superseded by Brahmi.

Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant grammar of Tamil was written in Tamil language itself unlike the first grammars in other Dravidian Languages which were all written in Sanskrit. *Tolkāppiyam* itself is an evidence for the existence of a flourishing grammatical tradition prior to its time. If the contemporarity of *Tolkāppiyam* with the earliest Brahmi inscriptions is conceded then it will suggest a hoary grammatical tradition in Tamil, which preceded many centuries before *Tolkāppiyam* and the Brahmi inscriptions.

Even if Prakrit or Sanskrit were the source of the Tamil Brahmi script, if not a third common one, the Tamil grammarians' ingenuity in differentiating the separate structure of Tamil language and desisting from adopting the northern alphabet in toto is to be mentioned here. *Tolkāppiyam* and other later grammarians even emphasised the avoidance of the graphemes and words peculiar to Sanskrit (*Tolkāppiyam* Col:401, 402 *Nannūl*: 146-150, *Vīracōḷiyam*: 57-59).

But in medieval times, when Grantha-Tamil script was evolved and used as a common script for Sanskrit and Tamil, many Sanskrit graphemes were freely used to write the borrowed items from Sanskrit. While literary variety of the language preferred *tadbhavas* the common standard variety used in inscriptions and other discourses permitted *tadsamas*, which were written as in Sanskrit with Sanskrit phonemes and graphemes.

Phonemic inventory and phonemic structure

The growing use of Sanskrit has resulted in the adoption of a few Sanskrit sounds and graphemes like s, ś, h, kṣ, j, śri etc. There are also new phonemic contrasts developed later as in the case of p, b, k, g etc. But Tamil writing system could not accommodate separate graphemes for these phonemic contrasts. However in the speech of the learned such contrasts are maintained depending upon one's familiarity with the Sanskrit idioms.

Apart from the new graphemes and phonemic distributions also came into existence due to the influence of Sanskrit. For example in the word initial position the following combinations gained currency, which were not noticed by the early grammarians.

ca-camam, ya-yavanar, yu-yuttam, yū-yūpam, yō-yōni, yau-yauvanam.

A few words with the r, l series occur as such without the prothetic vowel, insisted in the earlier period e.g. rākiṇi, lōkam etc.

Because of the extent of the borrowings, from Sanskrit, a fashion of general rule comes to be established about the method of Tamilizing foreign words. This has been summarised for the first time by Buddhāmitranar in his work called *Vīracōḷiyam* in the eleventh century A.D. and modified by Pavananti in his *Nannūl* at the end of the twelfth century A.D.

The rules of Tamilization formulated by *Vīracōḷiyam* and *Nannūl* and found in later literatures have already been

explained by T.P. Meenakshi Sundaram (1965, pp.171-179; (1974) pp.276-281, 303-311). They may be summarised here:

I. Phonemic egivalence.

1. The first voiceless plosive in all the four plosive series will replace all the rest of the sounds in each series.

2. kṣ > kk - pakṣam > pakkam

ṣk > kk - pariṣkāram > parikkaram

ṣ > t - puruṣa > puruṭan

s > c - sabda > cattam

ś > c - śakala > cakalam

s > t - vasta > vattan

h > a - hara > aran

h > y/k - mahitalam > mayitalam (k-)

r > i - ṛṣabam > iṭapam

a > ai - cīta > cītai

ī > i - kumārī > kumāri

II. Phonemic distribution

1. Prothetic vowel: i, a or u for words with y, l, r initials
e.g. irāman, aratanam, ulōkam.

2. Epenthetic vowel i, u and doubling of medial plosives for avoiding non-Tamil clusters: eg. vākya > vākkiyam, putra > puttira, sukla > cukkilam, padmam > patumam.

3. Assimilation: e.g. simha > simmam > ciṅkam
kaṣṭam > kaṭṭam.

4. Loss of consonant in a cluster e.g. māṇikyam
> māṇikkam

5. consonants after r. e.g. karma > karmma

Morpho-phonemic system

Because of the free borrowal of Sanskrit words, Saṇḍhi rules peculiar to Sanskrit words are applied in Tamil and hence the rules of *dirgha-sandhi*, *guṇa-sandhi*, and *vridddhi sandhi* and other *samāsa* and *taddhitānta* derivational rules become operative in Tamil also. *Vīracōḷiyam* is the first grammar to mention these rules and the later grammarians accommodated them in their works in varying degrees (T.P. Meenakshi Sundaram (1974).

Grammatical system (Morphology and syntax)

Morphology

Nouns dominate among the borrowals from Sanskrit and some verbs were also derived from Sanskrit roots. S. Vaidyanathan (1971, p. 179 ff) identifies seven verbs derived from Sanskrit in old Tamil, e.g. vidh - 'to create' viti 'to construct', stu - 'to praise' Pāli, thuti 'praise' tuti, "praise" arucci, vantanai, vīcanai, citai, vicai are the other verbs. There are many such verbs derived from Sanskrit bases. For more details see: Emeneau M.B and Burrow T (1962).

The methods of deriving verbs from Sanskrit bases vary but the following method is the most preferred one:

- Skt. grahaṇam > kiraki
 svāsam > cuvāci
 anumānam > anumani / anumānam-cey
 śuddhīkaraṇam > cuttikari / cuttam-cey

Similarly Sanskrit nouns are assimilated with appropriate gender suffixes:

- candra > cantiran
 ratna > ratnam

upasargas like ati- (atīlōpam, atinūṭnam), negative prefixes like a- (arūpam), an - (anaṅkan), na -(nāsti), ni-nirmala), ku-(kutarkkam), vi-(viti) etc. are accepted and used

in ordinary languages (Makkanaikkoru: 100).

Derivative suffixes like -karam, -karam (akaram, akaram) -kari (pakkaram, pakkari) -yam (Tolkappiyam), -va (guruvam) etc. are also borrowed from Sanskrit.

Syntax

The influence of Sanskrit syntax on Tamil has not been fully worked out. Hence only a few explicit influences are noted here. Among the foremost of the syntactic points borrowed from Sanskrit is the passive construction. It is followed by Tolkappiyar himself and the use of non-passive in passive sense is noted by Tolkappiyar himself (Col. 245) (Caldwell, Robert (1976, pp.465- 469).

The next important construction is the interrogative demonstrative type (e.g. yata-tai). Such constructions found in Sangam literature, Tirukkural and other literatures (Puram: 187 Tirukkural: 341, 423, Piravumkam: 45).

According to the author of Makkanaikkoru (cu:114) grammar following the Sanskrit models, and belong to 10th century, A.D mentions that transposed constructions like *aiyinar kuppilai kalyinar* are due to the influence of Sanskrit rules and in the Tamil way they should be as *Vaiy kuppilai* and *kai kuppilai*. In the same way the above author states that *vaiy pilantai unakindan* ("having opened his mouth open he slept") is a transposition due to Sanskrit influence in Tamil it should be as *unanki vuypilantai* ("having slept opened his mouth wide open").

The use of accusative case marker with intransitive (e.g. *neyyirai nuyyirai* - *neyyirai nuyyirai*) (Purayoka veykum) the use of present tense, instead of future for habitual *majai nuyyirai* instead of *majai nuyyirai* are considered influence from Sanskrit (Tolkappiya Cilina virutti, 1956 p.

Semantics and vocabulary items

The use of Tamil equivalents of Sanskrit words Sanskrit grammatical information translated into Tamil

interesting case. For example the Tamil word also equivalent to *lalita* (beauty), is metaphorically used with feminine gender suffix due to Sanskrit usage. e.g. *adā eṇum nallā* (Tirukkural 924), *kinnī 'fame'* is another word used with feminine gender suffix. (For more such examples see K. Vachanasanthi 1986).

The number of vocabulary items borrowed from Sanskrit is heavy and no estimate is available about it. The medieval Nizhalkaṇṭas sometimes adopted and transcribed all Sanskrit words from Sanskrit Kīrti works and treated them as Tamil words.

e.g. *eyilum taramum taramum pallē* (Punkalantā 1039). Here *taram* *danta* and *taramum* < *datara*, are from Sanskrit.

Out of synonyms for eye listed in Punkalantā ten words are from Sanskrit.

uṇṇi vilōcam nēṇṇam nayanam

ṭarai yampakam vilāye nattam

akkam nokku cakku nūṇṇi

garvai kōnni onna pōlavum kōnnē (Punkalantā 1007)

But many of these words have rarely been entered in literature, which suggests that the enthusiasm of the Nizhalkaṇṭas works for the wholesale transfer of Sanskrit words had not been fully shared by the users of the language.

The preceding account gives only an overall picture about the extent of Sanskrit influence on Tamil language. A full-fledged study covering all its aspects may be worked out in future. However a description of the Sanskrit influence on Tamil language chronologically from the period of Tolkāppiyam may be presented here to have a correct perspective of the trends at a different viewpoint.

Sanskrit influence in Tolkāppiyam

P. Subramonia Sastry (1946) has summarised the Sanskrit elements found in the three sections of Tolkāppiyam in the

lecture on *Tolkāppiyam* and Sanskrit literature, S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (1956) also identified the Sanskrit elements found in *Tolkāppiyam* in his writings.

According to P.S.S. Sastri, Tolkāppiyar's description of the production of sounds and his treatment of cases are similar to the treatments found in *Pāniniya Shiksha*, *Prātisākhya*s, etc. The parts of speech classification, definition of *uriccol*, etc. have similarities with Yaska's *Nirukta*. The Pāniniyan influence on the treatment of compound is also clear.

Similarly in *Poruḷatikāram*, the influence of Bharata's *Nāṭya śāstra* in the treatment of *rasas* and similies by Tolkāppiyar can be seen. The influence of *Dharmasāstras* and *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya are explicit in many places in the *Poruḷatikāram*. Even the presiding deities of the five fold divisions of lands included deities like Viṣṇu, Indra and Varuṇan from the Vedic pantheon. Tolkāppiyar also uses many loan translations of technical terms from Sanskrit.

S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (op.cit) besides pointing out Tolkāppiyar's recognition of Sanskrit words as part of the poetic vocabulary in Tamil, summarises the Sanskrit elements found in *Tolkāppiyam*.

He defines Sanskrit technical terms e.g. *cūttiram*, *paṭalam*, *piṇṭam* (Ceyyuliyal, 161) *ampōtarāṅkam* (Ceyyuliyal 145) *pāṇṭikai* (Marapiyal 98). He formulates rules regarding Sanskrit words e.g. *Bharani* etc. (uyirmayankiyal 45), *Cittirai phalakai* (Puḷḷimayankiyal 79) *tāmarai* (Sanskrit, *tāmarasa*, *puḷḷimayankiyal* 98). He translates Sanskrit terms e.g. Tamil *vaṛṛumai* = Sanskrit *Vibhakti*, *avaiyalmoli* = *asabhya*; *nūl* = *sūtra*.

Also he translated Sanskrit *sutras* (e.g. *Pirappiyal* 1 = *Pānini Siksha* 12; *meypṭāṭṭiyal* 3 = *Bharata Nāṭya Sastra* VI, 15). He refers to classifications mentioned in Sanskrit works such as the eight kinds of marriage (*Kalaviyal* 1), ten kinds of poetic defects (*Marapiyal* 95, 105) and thirty two kinds of *uktis* (*Marapiyal* 95, 107). In addition to the above Sanskrit elements, he uses several Prākṛit words also e.g. *paiyul* (*uriyiyal* 45), *Rāmam* (*uriyiyal* 59), *paṇṇatti* (*ceyyuliyal* 173),

patimai (Akattinaiyiyal 30) etc. He adopts Prakrit sutras e.g. the 21st and 22nd sutras of Moḷimarapu corresponds to two sutras of Prakṛita - *prākasam* (1 :36, 42) (S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, (1956 pp.68). Some materials like the classification of living beings into six kinds by Tolkāppiyar is attributed to Jainism by him.

But those who have examined the above observations of the two great savants came to different conclusions.

As stated in the *pāyiram* of *Tolkāppiyam*, Tolkāppiyar mostly follow Aindra school of grammar which was pre-Paninian. Murugaiyan, after a detailed study of *Tolkāppiyam* and *Pāṇiniyam* on the production of sounds established that Tolkāppiyar's treatment is different from that of Pāṇini (*Āyvuḱkōvai* Vol.5 pp.599-606, Madras). Rajam (1981) who did a contra study of *Tolkāppiyam* and *R̥gveda Prātisākhya* observes thus:

"While it is true that Tamil tradition reflected the Sanskrit tradition, *Tolkāppiyam* bears some similarity to the system found in each of the Sanskrit texts considered here, it must be emphasised that the methods and procedures found in *Tolkāppiyam* are no identical with those found in any single text. In other words one cannot claim that *Tolkāppiyam* follows closely any single text to formulate all of its rules".

She concludes that Tolkāppiyar's treatment of the production of sounds and morpho-phonemics is unique. The same sentiment is expressed by P.S.S Sastri in another context: 'Tolkāppiyānar's model was not Pāṇini so much as the *Prātisākhyas* and the *Nirukta* (1934, pp.231).

Similarly the concept of the parts of speech of Tolkāppiyar is found to be different from the one available in Sanskrit (S. V. Shanmugham 1989).

Ilamkulam Kunjan Pillai (1970, pp.228-230) while comparing the ideas of similies and blemishes in poetry of Tolkāppiyar and Sanskrit *Alankarikās* points out a possibility of a third common source. Thirunanasambandam (1992) who

examined the Rasa theory of Tolkappiyar and Bharata pointed out a similar possibility of a common source for both of them. The unique contribution of Tolkappiyar to Indian literary theories (e.g. Dhvani theory long before Anandavardhana) are highlighted by Sundaramoorthy in his work (1974).

The codification of literary themes into love and war and their attendant classifications found in Tolkappiyam have little parallels in Sanskrit except perhaps in Sattasi written in Maharashtri Prakrit. The recent research by George L.Hart and others on Sattasi poetry have shown the possibility of Dravidian literatures influencing the Prakritic poetry. The casual observation of S. Vajrapuri Pillai (op.cit 70) that being Tolkappiyar a Jain, perhaps we owed to Jain authors the infelicitous classification remained unsubstantiated. On account the treatment of war themes in ancient Tamil literature and their codification by Tolkappiyar is unique as there is no parallel in Sanskrit tradition (A.V. Subramanian Aiyar (1959).

The eighteenth century commentator of Tolkappiyam munivar, who was a great scholar in Sanskrit and Tamil pointed out the following unique features of Tamil as distinct from those found in Sanskrit. (*Tolkappiyam Mutual cirtinavaru* (1956) p.8-9, see also *Pirayōka vivekam*:48)

1. Description of Morpho-phonemic processes and the classifications nomenclature, etc
2. Appellative verb, verbal compound
3. Parts of speech classification into Rational and Irrational class
4. Alam, Puṇam classification, and *tiṇai* divisions and the details.
5. Venpā metre etc. are not found in Sanskrit and are peculiar to Tamil and Tolkappiyar described all these things on the line of Agartiyam and other earlier works.

So Tolkappiyar may be hailed to have preserved the unique genre of Tamil language and literature even while adopting and integrating many things from Sanskrit.

Sanskrit influence in the Sangam Age

1. On Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions of the Sangam Age

In the Tamil Brahmi inscriptions of the Sangam age (B.C. 300-A.D. 300), the earliest document in Tamil language and script the non-Tamil phonemes dha (*dhanmam*, *kāṣapam*) etc. occur, but with less frequency later. About thirty words of Prakrit origin mostly proper names (e.g. *kāṣapam*). Religious terms (e.g. *Aṭṭaṇam*, *aṇamman*, *upācan*) and kinship terms (e.g. *sātakan*, *sutan*) are found in Brahmi inscriptions inscribed in the caves all over Tamil country. Direct borrowing from Sanskrit occurs for the first time (*cantiran* < *candra*) only in the Tirupparankunṇam inscription almost at the commencement of the Vāṇeḷuttu period. The spread and influence of Jainism and Buddhism is proved by these epigraphs. (Iravatham Mahadevan (1968, pp.28).

Apart from the cave inscriptions, coins and potsherds have also been unearthed recently in Kodumanal and other places with Tamil Brahmi characters. They show the increased use of Tamil Brahmi scripts by the common man also. Elsewhere also Tamil was recognised a dominant language in the South equal to Prakrit. For example Satavahanas of second century A.D issued coins with legends in Prakrit and Tamil. (R. Panneerselvam (1967).

2. On the Sangam language

Sangam times was the period between 300 B.C- 300 A.D, when the nine Sangam anthologies were compiled. They are contemporary to the Brahmi Inscriptions of the caves and together with them they mark the historic period in South Indian History. They provide ample evidences to the contacts of the South with the North in the spheres of language, religion and culture.

Sangam literature spoke about the Vedas and the Brahmins well versed in them. There were many brahmin villages and kings like the Chera Imayavarmpan Nedunchēralātan, Pandyan Palyāka cālai Muṇikutumipperuvaḷuḷi donated Brahmadeya villages to the Brahmins. The Brahmins

in turn conducted vedic sacrifices like Rājasūya etc. for the kings. There is a mention about the sacrificial pillar erected by Parasurama at Cellūr on the west coast. Brahmins were generally vegetarians, and pious and were well respected by kings and others. They were protected and they held various jobs in the polity like ambassadors, judges, etc. Some of them were employed in chank cutting and a few were musicians. There were also brahmin landlords and poets about twenty five in number. Apart from brahmins of Vedic religion, there are mentions about Arya kings, armies, dancers, etc. in Sangam literature.

The north Indian geographical names like Himalayas, Ganges, Yamuna, and names of dynasties like Nandas and Mauryas are mentioned in Sangam literature. References to episodes in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana* and Puranas are also found.

The philosophical schools like Nyāya, Vaisēśika, Mimāṃsa, Sāṅkhya were also known. A few Jain, Buddhist poets also figure among the Sangam poets. There were Brahminical, Jain and Buddhistic monasteries at Madurai and other places (P.S. Subramanya Sastri, 1946 pp.67-102); S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (1956, pp.38-45); K.K. Pillai 'A Social History of the Tamils Vo.I, Madras University).

Those close contacts have brought in new vocabularies from Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pāli in the spheres of religion and social life. These Indo-Aryan loan words in the Sangam Tamil have been studied in detail by Anavardavinayagam Pillai (1974), S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (1956, pp 41-43) and S. Vaidyanathan (1971).

The following is the break-up of the words of Indo-Aryan identified by S. Vaidyanathan in his study.

words related to religion	216.
words related to nature	93
words related to dress and ornaments	51

words related to economic life	22
words related to domestic life	51
words related to education	69
words related to polity	47
words related to human emotions	26
words related to miscellaneous items	58

The Indo Aryan elements seem to have influenced more the religious life to Old Tamils. The least influence of the Indo Aryan elements is found in the agricultural sphere of the Old Tamils.. The basic vocables of the language are not affected by tho borrowings. For those Indo Aryan loans which denote the objects of nature and parts of the body, native Old Tamil words corresponding to the borrowings are also found. Most of the borrowed groups of words belong to the noun class and there are five verbs which are borrowings from Sanskrit (S. Vaidyanathan op.cit. pp.116-179). These loan words can be identified as loans proper, partial loans, loan translations, semantic loan, loan blends and reborrowings. A close study of these loan words shows that they were borrowed at different times in the history.

Post-Sangam period

The Kalabhras and the Pallavas who ruled the Tamil country in the Post-Sangam period (A.D.330-900 A.D.) patronised Prakrit and Sanskrit languages. Only Later-Pallavas (A.D.600-900) adopted Tamil for their administrative purposes. This love for Sanskrit of the Pallavas gradually infected Cholas, Pandyas and Cheras. The high sounding Sanskrit names adopted by these kings and their high flown Sanskrit *Prasastis* show the growing influence of Sanskrit among the ruling elite, clergy, and others. See below a few examples of the pure Tamil names in the Sangam period and the Sanskrit names of the later period.

Names of Kings		
Dynasty	Sangam Age	Post-Sangam Age
1. Cholan	Karikālan	Vijayalayan
2. Pandyan	Neruncejyan	Srimāra Srivallabha
3. Cheran	Cenkutruvan	Kulasekharan

In the religious and philosophical spheres also the use of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit was growing facilitated by the spread of Vedism, Buddhism and Jainism (S. Vaiyapuri Pillai 1989).

See some examples of the names of deities found in Tamil and Sanskrit.

Name of the gods/goddesses	Tamil names	Sanskrit names
Siva	Anvārkunallān	Śhaktavatsala
Parvati	Ilamankaiyamman	Śalāmbika (I)
Vishnu	Arulālan	Varadarāja (n)
Lakshmi	Alarmēlmanakai	Padmāvati

Similarly Tamil place names were also Sanskritised either translated into Sanskrit, or etymologies based on Sanskrit were proposed e.g. Mayilāru tūrai became Māyūranthi in Sanskrit. Cīrampalam became Citamparam with a Sanskrit etymology. Such examples may be multiplied. But unlike personal names in place names this Sanskritisation was not complete because of the fixed nature of place names and their secular character and their use by common people in everyday transactions.

Ethical literature

In the post-Sangam period the ethical literature in eighteen *kīṭṭkanakku* works, elaborate ethical ideas which have parallels in Dharma Sastras and other Jain and Budd-

ethical works. In addition to ideas many words from Sanskrit are also seen in these works. For example in *Tirukkural* words like *Ātipakavan* (<ātibhagavan), *pākkiyam* (<bhāgyam) etc. are available. (For a list of such words see S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *Tamiḷa Cūtarmanikaḷ* pp.72-73). Translation of Sanskrit phrases are also not uncommon in *Tirukkural* e.g. *Cēṭāraikkolli* < āśritavari. Works like *Ācārakkōvai* have more Sanskrit diction.

The following observation of S. Vaiyapuri Pillai is pertinent here.

"A study of the work content of the Tamil works of different periods reveal the fact that Sanskrit words and expressions have been increasing gradually as time advances and this forms one of the main features in the growth of the Tamil language"

(History of Tamil Language and Literature p.84)

Sanskrit as a Second language and Link Language

At the end of the Sangam period the developments in the political, religious, cultural and other fields was phenomenal in the Tamil country and also at the pan-Indian level. The ascendancy of the political power of non-Tamil Kalabhras and Pallavas and the larger influence of people and religious sects from the north undermined the use of Tamil language and Sanskrit came to occupy a pre-eminent position in all walks of life and its importance grew as a link language in intellectual and other spheres of life at the all-India level too.

The growing use of Sanskrit suggests that Sanskrit was adopted as second language by the natives while the migrants adopted Tamil as their first language. In short, bilingualism was firmly established and started to flourish.

The large number of *brahmadeyas* and *Palliccantams* established by Pallavas, Pandyas, Cholas and others indicate that Sanskrit was most preferred in educational fields also. All these developments encouraged the all round growth of Sanskrit while Tamil could get only a second hand treatment. In such a situation Sanskrit was the most preferred medium of

interaction and intellectual output for atleast an influential section of the population. Knowledge and wisdom were expressed in Sanskrit for prestige, convenience and acceptability beyond the borders of Tamilnadu.

The great rhetoricians like Daṇḍi, Appaya Dikshitar, the Buddhist luminaries like Dignāga, Dharmapala, and Dharmakīrti, the Jain Acharyas like Kundakunda, and Vajranandi, the great Vaidika Acharyas like Sankaracharya, Ramanujacharya and Umapati Sivacharya are a few examples of those, who failed in Tamil country and expressed their wisdom in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit languages. Agamas, which are Dravidian in content were written in Sanskrit. In essence Sanskrit and its allied language were cultivated zealously by the Tamilians like any other linguistic groups in India. So Tamilian contribution to Sanskrit was no insignificant and all Sanskrit cannot be non-Tamilian. Whichever came from Sanskrit either the linguistic elements or knowledge need not be taken as foreign or non-Tamil. This should be kept in mind by both the Sanskrit enthusiastic and its opponents.

Bhakti poetry (A.D.400-A.D.900)

The Bhakti poetry of the Ālwārs and Nāyanmārs of the Hindu revivalist movement and other sects absorbed many ideas and words from Puranas, Vedas and other Sanskrit works and reworked them according to the native genius, hence the Sanskrit element in this poetry is very clear. Works like *Tirumantiram* has more Sanskrit elements in them. An elaborate study of these works on these lines will itself form a separate work which will reveal many hidden aspects.

Epics:

Except *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇinēkalai* the other epics like *Cintāmaṇi*, *Perunkatai*, *Cuḷāmaṇi* and *Nīlakēci* are either from Sanskrit or Prakritic sources and they have been recreated here and some of them have been again reborrowed into Sanskrit. For example the epics *Perunkatai* and *Jīvaka Cintāmaṇi* had become sources to Sanskrit counterparts like *Brahāt katha*, *Gadyacintāmaṇi*, etc. (R. Vijayalakshmi).

Cilappatikāram, though the story is a native one contain many Sanskrit expressions and ideas. Vaiyapuri Pillai opines that Sanskrit works like *Bharatanāṭya Śāstra*, *Pañchatantra*, *Mayamata*, *Ratna Parīksha* and *Karnisuta*, have been made use or referred to by Ilango, the author of *Cilappatikāram* (S. Vaiyapuri Pillai. op.cit.pp.150-151).

Maṇimēkalai (c. A.D.500), the Buddhistic work contains a lot of Sanskrit and Pali words. Cāttanār substitutes new words from Sanskrit in the place of old ones e.g. *tāḷi-kumbam* (<Kumbha) ('pot') *moḷi-pātai* (<bhāṣā), *nilam pūrni* (*bhūmi*) etc. Apart from these lexical replacements lexical additions in the form of loan translations are also resorted to by Cāttanār. e.g. *pramāṇa-aḷavai* 'source of knowledge; *pratyakṣa-kāṇṭal* "perception" etc. Cāttanār, who seems to be a follower of Sautrantika-yogacara school of Mahayana, follows *Nyāyapraveśa* of Dignāga in his exposition of logical concepts. (S.N. Kandaswamy, 1978, pp.16-18).

In the later epics *Periappurāṇam*, the Saivite epic has lesser number of Sanskrit elements. Kamban's *Rāmāyaṇa*, though a recreation based on Vālmīki's work, the Sanskrit words are found either translated or assimilated in the Tamil fashion. Later poets like Villipputtūrar who translated *Bhāratam* into Tamil closely follow the models set by Kamban and others.

Minor Prabhandas

What are called Minor *Prabhandas* in Tamil are a type of *khaṇḍa kāvyas* and there are 96 or more varieties of such minor *prabhandhas* available in Tamil. Starting from *Nandikkalampakam* of ninth century A.D, Tamil has thousands of such works composed on kings, patrons of letters and presiding deities of various temples. The language of these works contain Sanskrit vocabulary, if not ideas and some of them like *Tūtu* (< *dhūtu*) have parallels in Sanskrit also.

Lexicons and Grammars

In Tamil, lexicons are traditionally called *Nighaṇṭus* and there are more than forty such works extant now. They were

always liberal in accepting and adopting Sanskrit words. They were one of the sources for the propagation of Sanskrit vocabulary in Tamil as explained earlier.

In Tamil there are atleast seventy two grammatical works written out of which only thirty nine are extant: Among them nine works deal with some language aspects like phonology, morpho-phonemics, morphology. The other works deal with prosody, poetics and literary themes.

Even as the use of Sanskrit was on the increase in general and in Manipravāla style and inscriptions (see below), there arose a set of grammarians who call themselves as pro-Sanskritic grammarians. One such school was Buddhāmitranar (11th Century A.D.), a Buddhist who wrote a contrastive grammar in Tamil on Sanskritic models. He gave up the Tolkāppiyar model and wrote a grammar on the basis of the Sanskrit and Prakrit grammars. It is probable that Buddhāmitranar took Prakritic grammarian's cue to write a contrastive grammar. It may be mentioned here that the Prakritic grammars written in Sanskrit language always follow a contrastive approach of differentiating Prakrit and Sanskrit languages.

Buddhāmitranar's approach was new but could not fully account the structure of Tamil language. He also adopted Sanskrit terminologies. He has also introduced Sanskrit ideas of Alankāra Śāstra, Prosody, etc. One may say that Buddhāmitranar's *Vīracōḷiyam*, the first grammar which opened the flood gates of Sanskrit influence on Tamil without any reservation. However the later grammarians like Nannūlar reverted to the Tamil tradition of Tolkāppiyar.

But the later grammars *Ilakkaṇakkottu* and *Pirayokavivēkam* of sixteenth century A.D. followed *Vīracōḷiyam* in sanctioning Sanskritic uses and Sanskrit model for Tamil grammar.

In poetics *Vīracōḷiyam* adopted Daṇḍi's *Kāvyaḍarsam* as its Alankārappāṭalam. Another popular translation called *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* was also produced after two centuries of *Vīracōḷiyam*. *Māṇalaṅkāram* of 16th century A.D. is an effort

to introduce the Sanskrit works like *Kuvalayānandam*.

In prosody, the Jains contributed much and the works like *Yāpparuṅkalam* and its commentary were responsible for introducing more Sanskrit metrical patterns in Tamil.

Treatises on poetical compositions called *Pāṭṭiyal* works also displayed the influence of Sanskrit on Tamil on various aspects. (Marudur Arankarācan, *Ilakkaṇa Varalāru - Pāṭṭiyal Nūlkal*, 1983, Madras).

Commentaries and later prose literatures

There are more than hundred commentaries to various types of literature in Tamil starting from the *Iṟaiyanār Akapporuḷ* of eighth century A.D. These commentaries are the samples of prose in Tamil. Earliest commentaries have less number of Sanskrit elements but in course of time the Sanskrit elements predominated especially in the commentaries in religious and other literatures. It could mean that the spoken variety of Tamil which is closer to written prose had more Sanskrit elements. Literary and grammatical commentaries like *Parimēlaḷakar's* commentary to *Tirukkural* (13th century A.D), the commentaries of *Tolkāppiyam* by *Senāvaraiyar* (13th century A.D) and *Teyvaccilaiyar* (14th century A.D) exhibit great influence of Sanskrit ideas but their style has comparatively less Sanskrit elements. In contrast, the commentaries to Vaiṣṇavite works like *Divyaprabhandam*, and some Jain prose works like *Jīvasambodanai* have more Sanskrit elements, consequent of which they are called *Maṇipravāḷa* works. The Śaivite commentaries have lesser Sanskrit elements.

Prose literature of the later period like the story of *Paramārtta Guru* of *Beschi*, etc. show more Sanskrit elements than the poetry. The prose employed in the early fictional literature of the nineteenth and twentieth century gradually shed its Sanskrit elements to adopt a modern standard Tamil with less scientific works and later Sanskrit in it.

Sastraic (Scientific) literature and Later Bhakti literature

The Saivites have a tradition of writing original works on Saiva Siddhanta in Tamil also. For example the great *Umapati*

Sivacharya of Chidambaran (13th Century A.D) who wrote many works on Saiva Siddhanta in Tamil was also the author of *Sadaratna Samgraha* in Sanskrit.

Tamil works on *Śilpaśāstra*, *Siddha vaidya*, *Jyotisa* and other sciences are considerable in number. These works have an admixture of Sanskrit words but not too much to render them unintelligible to the monolingual.

Later bhakti poets like Arunagirinathar, Tattuvappirakasari Tāyumānavar, have profusely used Sanskrit idioms and ideas.

Language of the inscriptions

Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu were written in Tamil, Sanskrit and a few other languages. Sometimes the *prasaṣti* portion is in Sanskrit language. The details of donation, etc are in Tamil language. But in course of time especially during the Chola rule, Tamil came to be used more and more. However the admixture of Sanskrit sounds, graphemes, and words were freely admitted. New non-Tamil clusters were permitted and unassimilated words were accepted (R. Panneerselvam (1968), A. Veluppillai (1971)).

Maṇipravāḷa style

The establishment of Sanskrit as a powerful medium in the educational, cultural, religious and philosophical spheres and the consequent bilingualism in its acute form led to the development of a mixed language called *Maṇipravāḷam*, which later came to be used as a style and the works produced in this style were called *Maṇipravāḷam*.

Maṇipravāḷa style consisted of Tamil sentences with alternating strings of Sanskrit and Tamil phrases even as corals and rubies were strung together alternatively in a necklace. This style was cultivated by Jains, Vaishnavites and even Saivites.

The earliest definition of *Maṇipravāḷa* in Tamil refers specifically to poetry; *Vīracōḷiyam* (11th century A.D) states that if there is an intermixture of Sanskrit syllables in Tamil writing, it is called *viraviyal*, and that if there happens to be

an intermixture of Sanskrit words, it is called *Maṇipravāla* (*Viracōḷiyam*: 180). This is a bold innovation by *Viracōḷiyam*, since, earlier such a mixture was not allowed (*Tolkappiyam Poruḷ*: 485)

The author of *Lilātīlakam* (14th century A.D), who was aware of the *Maṇipravāla* style in other Dravidian languages was particular that only the intermixture of Kerala *bhāṣa* and 'Sanskrit could be *Maṇipravālam*. By this, it seems he wanted to highlight a special literary genre, which was special for Malayalam. However it is also clear that he was not aware of a similar definition found in *Vīracōḷiyam* (It is further proved by another reference to a Sandhi rule in *Lilātīlakam* Sutra 57 commentary. It states that the rule $\underline{l} + \underline{n} > n$ does not find place in native grammars, but such a rule is found in *Vīracōḷiyam* (Karikai 18)

The main features of the *Maṇipravāla* style in Malayalam are the use of Sanskrit words with Sanskrit endings and suffixes and the use of Malayalam words with Sanskrit endings and suffixes. It is also interesting to note that works in *Maṇipravāla* style in Malayalam were written mostly in poetry.

But the *Maṇipravāla* literature in Tamil as we find today is different from the one found in Malayalam. The content of these works in Tamil is mostly philosophical and religious in nature and these works are only in prose which does not generally contain Sanskrit noun endings and verb endings. It was popular only among the educated elite and it could not develop itself to serve as a powerful medium of expression in other spheres by the other sections of the population. It gradually became extinct around fifteenth century A.D, (K.K.A. Venkatachari (1978), S.V. Shanmugam (1985, pp.94-127)

Reaction to Sanskrit Supremacy: Pure Tamil Movement

Two thousand years of supremacy of Sanskrit suffered a set back in the twentieth century in the Tamil country. The general trend of switching over to English, giving up Sanskrit as the link language is one of the primary reasons for the decline of the importance of Sanskrit. Consequent to this the sections of population which generally patronised Sanskrit

learning gave up the study of the language in pursuit of greener pastures through English. Thirdly, in the Tamil country the masses, who were deprived of the benefit of Sanskrit education associated it with social, political and cultural oppression and so they resented to the excessive use of it leading to the origin of the movement called Pure Tamil Movement.

The aim of the movement was to purge Tamil of foreign words and to restore it to its pristine glory of the olden days. But in practice it aimed at the removal of Sanskrit idioms from Tamil. Though it was basically a language movement it also echoed the peculiar social, political and cultural overtones, given the background then prevailed in Tamilnadu.

For over twenty centuries Sanskrit was the language of the educated and ruling elite and intelligentsia. It created a wider chasm between the educated and under-educated and it came to be associated with the oppressor which alienated the masses. The protagonists of Sanskrit were also responsible for this. When the freedom struggle ushered in a cultural renaissance an inward thinking focussed on a search for a self identity and its own roots.

Elsewhere the revivalism fostered Sanskrit learning but in the Tamil country it did the opposite. In fact the opposition to Sanskrit can be traced back to earlier centuries when it began to be used as a tool for elitism and suppression of the masses. The observation of Bishop Caldwell about the linguistic independence of Tamil was a recent catalyst for this movement.

Traditionally the elevated style and poetic literature has little preference for Sanskrit words (*Tolkāppiyam*: Porul 485). This is in contrast to what is available in other Dravidian languages where switching to Sanskrit idiom is considered high and elevated.

A sensitivity and the expression of love for Tamil language has been an argument theme found in Tamil literature. The reasons for this is to be found in the animosities generated by the 'politics of language' of non-Tamil

languages especially Sanskrit. For example Tamil had been systematically excluded from many walks of life like politics, religion, literature, music, sciences, etc. from very early days in the Tamil country. It was very well marked during Vijayanagara rule and after. Tamil could not get court patronage in the Tamil country since the decline of Cholas in 13th century A.D., and Sanskrit, Kannada and Telugu alone received support from the rulers.

The fact that the pure Tamil movement was sponsored by Nationalistic brahmin leaders like Subramoniya Siva and provincial non-brahmin scholars like Maraimalai Adigal indicates that it was part of the national renaissance and revivalism. But gradually this movement developed close relationship with non-brahmin movement, anti-Hindi movement etc. sheerly because of its social background.

The protagonists of this pure Tamil movement demanded a rightful place for Tamil in the Tamil land in polity, religion, science, art and literature. It also led to the extent of Tamilising Sanskrit personal names of individuals. The discovery of the linguistic wealth of Tamil in the form of two thousand years old literature, thousands of inscriptions, and several dialects was one of the positive effects of this movement. This helped in coining new words and technical terminologies making use of internal resources and the evolution of a standard modern Tamil. Sometimes the removal of Sanskrit words resulted in the loss of finer semantic nuances developed over centuries. Creative literature and the development of scientific knowledge also suffered with such rigid linguistic prescription. It is gratifying to note that after a period of extremistic postures and fundamentalistic overtones, the movement has now settled down to a compromising position acceptable to all.

A linguistic convergence has been taking place in Indian languages through the beneficial influence of Sanskrit; but modern Tamil throws up the case of a development of a divergence, similar to the one taking place in the case of Hindi versus Urdu.

It is no denying a fact that the neglect of Sanskrit by Tamilians has deprived them of the vast wealth of know in Sanskrit, which their fore-fathers has enriched real along with other linguistic groups in India. (K. Sivath (1979), K. Kalliasapathy (1986)).

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THE SANSKRIT WORD 'MLECCHA' A POSSIBLE PROTO-DRAVIDIAN ETYMOLOGY

Aloka Parasher Sen

Barbarians in early India were called *mleccha*. The notion of being a *mleccha* was introduced in northern India in the literature of the Indo-Aryan speaking tribes when they encountered people having different cultural attributes and values.¹ A pertinent question that immediately comes to mind is: was *mleccha* originally a Sanskrit word? In the literary source material available to us it first occurs in the Sanskrit language and in a context that denoted a linguistic peculiarity.² In Pali and Prakrit its form is *milakkha* and *milakkhu* respectively.³ As *milakkhuka* it is first attested in the *Pitaka* literature of the Buddhists⁴ though not with reference to their speech. These and other variant forms of the same occur in all other middle and modern Indo-Aryan languages⁵ but, it is significant to note at the outset that the fact that the use of *mleccha* is first available to us in a Sanskrit text, is of no sufficient indication to trace its origin in Vedic and Sanskrit texts only.

Irrespective of form, the word *mleccha* is generally translated from all languages to mean a barbarian, foreigner, a non-Aryan, etc.; the latter two being usually regarded as secondary meanings.⁶ In drawing upon the original texts we find that *mleccha*/*milakkha* could refer to *vāc* (speech), *bhāṣā*, (language), *deśa* (country) or *jāti* (community). As a designation of particular groups of people its use changed over the centuries.⁷ Thus though the original meaning of *mleccha* emerges in the sense of 'uncivilized', 'barbaric' or 'uncultured', its particular use in our source material was never static and varied according to time and space.

There are well-established views advocating, either an Indo-European, or a non-Indo-European etymological origin for

the term *mleccha*. The latter are significantly influenced by recent researches in proto-Dravidian linguistics. At the present juncture we cannot present and analyze all these views, but in suggesting our hypothesis we have adopted the method of not regarding these individual views in isolation but rather in an integrated whole, i.e., mainly to evaluate their relative importance together. In our own tradition, as manifest in both the grammatical and nongrammatical literature available to us, we find that in the *Brāhmaṇas*, though the word is used in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,⁸ the etymology is not discussed at all. The *Nirukta* of Yāska, considered to be earlier (500 BC-700 B.C),⁹ does not give the etymology either, nor has the word been used in this text.

To Yāska and other successive grammarians it was an avowed aim to trace every word to an original verbal base, irrespective of the fact that there was no resemblance between the word and its original form. The *Pāṇiniya Dhātupāṭha*, which is the oldest of all *Dhātupāṭhas* extant, has listed the verbal base of *mleccha* as *mlech*¹⁰ - 'to speak indistinctly'.¹¹ It can be deduced that since the meanings of certain nouns are derived from the prominent actions connected with them, the *mlecchas* could therefore be considered people who spoke an indistinct or 'foreign' language; naturally unintelligible to the early Indian Sanskrit writers. It has also been noticed that the linguistic disparity between the *mlecchas* and the *āryas* was greatly emphasized, more clearly, in the literary reference of the centuries BC than in the later texts datable from the early centuries AD.¹²

However, the derivation of *mleccha* from a *dhātu* (root) is of no help in any attempt to determine the origin of the word. In his work on *The Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas* G. B. Palsule has remarked:

"The concept of *dhātu* (for Hindu grammarians) had only a practical use in explaining the language through its analysis without thereby implying that the *dhātu* afforded the ultimate explanation".¹³

The late appearance of the word *mleccha* in Vedic literature with no precedent of a likely similar form, and, at a

later stage, the appearance of the verbal base in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, is an apt example of the above statement.

Though the most common form used in all types of Sanskrit literature is *mleccha*, we have the evidence of several of its grammatical variations, and these have been used by philologists and other scholars to shed light on hypothetical old Indian 'forms' of *mleccha*. Some of these are as follows: The past participle passive *mliṣṭa* together with *mlecchita*, both meaning 'spoken indistinctly or barbarously', are also attributed to Pāṇini.¹⁴ Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* has given us the infinitive form *mlecchitavai* side by side with *apabhasitavai*.¹⁵ Likewise, the *Dhātupāṭha* of Hemachandra has listed the participle *mliṣṭa* and the *dhātu* *mlech*, but interestingly, has also given the forms — *mimlechha*, *memleṣṭi*, *memleṣvaḥ*, *memleṣmaḥ*, *mimlecchavaḥ* etc.¹⁶ The *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti* of Sāyaṇa (a 15th century AD text) has also stated the intensive forms *memleṣmi*, *memliṣmas*, *memleṣti*, etc. but, while explaining how the *dhātu* was formed has put *mleksi* as a possible derivative.¹⁷ The form *mleksi* put forward by Sāyaṇa is perhaps chronologically the first hypothetical reconstruction of *mleccha*. We find that most of the 19th century European philologists make use of the evidence given by Sāyaṇa and other ancient grammarians to postulate upon this as the 'most acceptable' etymon for *mleccha*.

At this point of our analysis, however, it is pertinent to raise the question of the possible etymological connection between the Sanskrit word *mleccha* and the Prakrit word *milakkha*. Just as in Sanskrit several variant forms of *mleccha* emerged during the historical period, so also in Pāli we have three common variants as *milakkha*, *milakkhu*, *milakkhuka* and also certain others like *milakkhu*, *milikkha*, *milikkhu*, *milicchā*, *mileccha*, *miccha* in old Ardha Māgadhī.¹⁸ The most common form, one which is found in the poetry of nearly all the Prakrit languages viz: Ardha Māgadhī, Māhārāṣṭri, Jaina Māhārāṣṭri, Śaurasenī, Apabhraṃṣa is *mleccha*.¹⁹ The diverse spellings have been explained by the variations and exchange of certain consonantal groups or vowel relationships in different dialects.

By the term Prakrit the Indian grammarians generally

comprehend a multitude of literary language that were all based on Sanskrit, It is common to have explanations like *prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam/ tatra bhavam tata āgatam vā prākṛtam*—“Sanskrit is the natural condition, what is derived from it is called Prakrit”.²⁰ This statement that Sanskrit is the source of Prakrit must be regarded with serious doubt.²¹ Regarding the subject objectively and purely from the linguistic point of view, it is the contention of most modern scholars that Prakrit dialects go back to the popular spoken dialects which were never superseded by Sanskrit. It seems quite plausible that the natural development of popular languages were simultaneous and parallel with the development of Sanskrit.²² It is interesting to note that the Indian inscriptions before the fourth/ fifth centuries AD used Prakrit in preference to Sanskrit, though as a language for literature its use by the Buddhists and Jainas is later as compared with Sanskrit as a literary language. Moreover, a suggestion by Pischel is worth noting here

“All the Prakrit languages have a series of grammatical and lexical characteristics with the Vedic language and as such significantly missing from Sanskrit”.²³

Given this general background it is possible for us to postulate an independent origin for the Prakrit word *milakkha* that could, as we argue below, have been transformed in Sanskrit to *mleccha*. Further, the fact that the latter appears so late in Vedic and Samhitā literature, leaves ground for the possibility that it was a borrowed word. It cannot be overlooked that as early as the 5th century BC Yāska noted the dialectical differences in the spoken language of his time.²⁴ Besides, as pointed out by the famous French Indologist Louis Renou, there is enough evidence to show that there was much interchange and constant borrowing among the various dialects of the Indo-Aryan languages themselves. It is also now well established that words could have been borrowed²⁵ from the Dravidian and Munda family of languages that were supposed to have flourished on the subcontinent before the Indo-Aryans came to India. In this context the researches of Thomas Burrow have shown that the indigenous influence on Ind

European/Indo-Aryan in India are more clearly perceptible in words that are numerous in the middle (all forms of Prakrit) and Modern Indo-Aryan languages.²⁶

In our opinion the etymology of the Sanskrit word *mleccha*, must be considered in conjunction with the corresponding forms of the word in Prakrit and Pāli, such as *milakkha*. There are several well-known scholars²⁷ who trace an Indo-European/Indo-Aryan etymology based on the theory that all the Prakrit, Pāli and Sanskrit forms are really representations of a common basic original form.²⁸ We cannot go into the details of all these views in the present context, though we can illustrate it by taking the example explained by Sir Harold Bailey. The starting point of his thesis is the form **mleks* or **mliks*. He has explained that there is a variation in the Veda between *-cch-* (*-ch-*) and *kS-* (e.g. *Atharva Veda parikSit* and variant *paricchit*). Hence, he has concluded 'Satapatha Brāhmaṇa *mleccha* may be traced to **mlekṣa*. The *-kṣ-* was replaced by *-kkh-* or by retroflex *-ch-* or by palatalized *-cch-* in different dialects'²⁹. The process of phonetic change that occurs between the sounds *-kkha-* and *ccha-* being the central point in Bailey's hypothesis as well as in that of many other scholars³⁰ emphasizes upon the apparent close relationship between *mleccha* and *milakkha*.

Keeping the above in mind it is essential to discuss briefly the transition from *-kṣa->-kkha->-ccha-*. An interesting article by S. R. Banerjee²⁹ on the etymology of the Prakrit words *rukha* and *vaccha* helps us in this matter. A parallel can be drawn between the original form of *rukha* that is given as *rukṣa* (attested in *Rg Veda*, vi, iii, 7) and that of *milakkha* which is given according to Bailey's reconstruction as **mlekṣa*. The only point of departure being that the latter is not attested in Vedic literature and is a hypothetical reconstruction. Banerjee has pointed out that Vedic Sanskrit *-kṣ-* has an equivalent in Indo-European **-ks-* and **-qs-*.³¹ The two sounds are retained as distinct ones in Avestan and Old Persian but become one in Sanskrit and again diverge in the Middle Indo-Aryan languages.³²

Could *milakkha* (Pāli) then have had quite an

independent development? It need not necessarily have any connection with *miliccha*, *miccha*, *meccha* (Prakrit) and *mleccha* (Sanskrit). This would probably explain the late appearance of the word *mleccha* in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Since Sanskrit phonetics was now consciously or unconsciously being influenced by Middle Indo-Aryan languages. S. K. Chatterjee has included *mleccha*, a corrupt of *mlaiksa* in his list of debased words and further observes that:

"the influence of the east is seen in the words of the *Yajur*, *Atharva Vedas* and *Brāhmanas*".³³

According to Weber the *āsurya* speech attributed to *mleccha* in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* probably referred to "Prakritic dialectic differences, assimilation of groups of consonants, and similar changes peculiar to Prakrit vernaculars".³⁴ There are, however, no reasons to believe that Prakrit dialects developed only in eastern India. Their development in western India is also plausible.³⁵

The sole emphasis in the preceding few paragraphs has been to establish an Indo-Aryan etymon by drawing connection between *mleccha* and *milakkha*. The usual explanation of *milakkha* being a variant of *mleccha* is not questioned. Much ink has flown on the highly controversial subject of the origin of Prakrit dialects and their relationship to Sanskrit and it seems unnecessary to plunge into the controversy here. Attention can, however, be drawn to the fact that it is more likely that *mleccha*, since it is absent in the earliest extant Vedic literature and appears late in the Indo-Aryan vocabulary, should be considered a variant of *milakkha*. Banerjee's explanation (discussed above) has shown that the change of Indo-European sounds **-ks-* and ** in -qs-* in India is represented more clearly in MIA *-cch-* and *-kkh-*. In Sanskrit they are unified as *-kṣ-*. Therefore, the sounds *-cch-* in *mleccha* and *-kkh-* in *milakkha* are more akin to the Prakrit dialects than to Vedic or Sanskrit. Further, to put it in the words of Banerjee:

"the development of Indo-European **-qs->* Sanskrit *-ks->* Middle Indo-Aryan *-kkh-* is due to the orthoepy of this sound on Indian soil".³⁶

It is impossible to envisage that there was a linguistic vacuum in northern India when the Indo-Aryan language system was introduced. The possibility that proto-Dravidian languages influenced the sound *-kkha-* in Middle Indo-Aryan cannot be excluded as a hypothesis. We shall turn to this point again towards the end of this paper.

Independent of any Indo-European linguistic link, some scholars have suggested unusual Non-Indo-European etymological origins for the term *mleccha*. We intend to, however, concentrate on a substantially significant point of view presented by scholars advocating a proto-Dravidian origin for it. These are also the most recent ones. The main contribution in this area has been by the Finnish scholars Asko and Simo Parpola whose main subject of interest for more than a decade, has been the decipherment of the Harappan script. The focus of their arguments, as of some other scholars as well, has been to draw a connection between the Sumerian toponym *Meluh̄ha* and the words *mleccha*/*milakkha*. And this link is established through proto-Dravidian and its influence on Prakrit *milakkha*. As a working premise scholars have accepted the identification of *Meluh̄ha* as part of the area of the Indus civilization³⁷ thereby projecting the view that *mleccha*/*milakkha* can be etymologically derivative from *meluh̄ha*. With this, they have used more exhaustive phonetic evidence to establish the probable proto-Dravidian etymon for *milakkha*.

C. J. Gadd's was the first assertion that there could be a possible etymological connection between *meluh̄ha* and *mleccha*. W.F. Leemans³⁸ further reflected upon this assertion. J. Hansam, agreeing with the views of Gadd and Leemans that the two words (*meluh̄ha* and *mleccha*) show a similarity, has further added:

"Moreover the first reference given above (i.e. of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*) would seem to indicate that these *mleccha* occupied at least part of the country where we have placed *meluh̄ha*".³⁹

Besides these above general assertions, Romila Thapar⁴⁰ has tried to add linguistic evidence to the identification of the Sumerian place name *Meluh̄ha*. Her views point to a probable

proto-Dravidian original for it in the form **mēlukku* (DED 4173). The root formation is stated as *-mēl-* and for the latter half of the word is suggested the suffix **ukku* indicating direction as in the terms **ten-ukku* 'south' (DED 2839) and *vaṭ-a-kku* 'north' (DED 4267). In Sumerian the sound *-kk-* could have been transliterated into *-hh-* as, in her opinion, the word *Meluhha* having no recognizable equivalent meaning in the above language is therefore, non-Sumerian.⁴¹ Consequently,

"If *Meluhha* was derived from *mēlukku*... it would be interesting to speculate whether this might not also provide the clue to the origin of the word *mleccha*..... In the relationship of *milakkha* to *mleccha* the occurrence of *-kkha-* is unexplained in most lexicons. *Vinaya Piṭaka* associates *milakkha* with Andhras and Tamils. Could the original *mleccha* then have been the proto-Dravidian speakers of *Mēlukku*/Western India who were either mispronouncing Sanskrit or were continuing to speak their own language"⁴²?

The Finnish scholars have more extensively discussed the relationship of *Meluhha* and *mleccha*. Pentti Aalto's initial suggestions⁴³ were followed up by an indepth study of the same by Asko and Simo Parpola.⁴⁴ The Finnish team during the early stages of this research⁴⁵ worked on three very general hypotheses:

- 1) "the identification of *Meluh_ha* with India is well-established and is corroborated by its etymological derivative in Sanskrit *mleccha*."
- 2) the bearers of the Indus Valley civilization were most probably Dravidian and that there existed a substratum of proto-Dravidian languages and
- 3) the cuneiform characters should be read as *me-lah_ha*.⁴⁶ The 'so-called' variants of Sanskrit *mleccha* are the Prakrit forms *miliccha*, *meccha*, *miccha* and Pāli ones *milakkha*, *milukkha* and *milakkhu*. According to these scholars '*-kkh-*' cannot be a

derivation from -cch- but must have been 'different origin'.⁴⁷

The 'different origin' is sought in the Dravidian languages. With the help of the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (DED)⁴⁸ the first half of the original reconstruction attempted is DED **mē*, *mēl mēlu*, *mēla*, *mēli mēlukku* which all generally mean "that which is above, high, superior, good, excellent, fine, western".⁴⁹ Another suggestion for the reconstruction of the first part of the 'original' Dravidian etymon is said to be preserved in the name *Tamil* on the hypothesis that this is separable into two elements: *tam* (*tām*.. 'they, themselves') and *nātu* ('country').⁵⁰ For the second half of the two names the reconstruction DED 8 *akam* is sought. This means 'house, home, inside, agricultural tract'. *Akam* is also attached to the name of the ancient country of the Tamils.⁵¹

Next, the phonetic shape of Sanskrit *mleccha* and Prakrit *milakkha*, independent of each other, are made to conform to the proposed hypothetical Dravidian forms. Dravidian *miḷ(u)* is said to correspond well with Pāli and Ardhmāgadhī *mil-* and Sanskrit *mle-* is explained from Dravidian **miḷḷkam*. In accordance with the views of Bailey, the sounds -cch- and -kkh in the two words are explained as independent of Sanskrit, and instead, are of possible 'foreign' origin.⁵²

Finally, a tentative reading for *Meluhha* as *Me- lāḥ-ḥa* is put forward as that would tally better with the Prakrit forms and the Dravidian etymology suggested above by the authors.⁵³ It is concluded:

"Depending on whether the middle is read as *luḥ*' or *lāḥ* we can, on the above premises, approximate the phonetic shape of *Me-luḥ-ḥa* as (mel 'uxa), (mel 'oxa) or (mel 'axa) to be compared with the Dravidian etymon reconstructed as ('mil (u)- 'axam) or ('m.el (u)- 'axam)."⁵⁴

The above etymological reconstructions noted may be feasible but are in no way absolute. The conclusion by Asko and Simo Parpola that "Sumerian *Meluhha* 'Country of the

Indus Civilization' can with good reason be linked with Sanskrit *mleccha* 'stranger of ill-pronounced speech', and over Prakrit *milakkha*, further to an original Dravidian etymon that seems to have been preserved in the old Tamil designation of South India, *Ta-miḷ-akam*⁵⁵, may be considered to be yet another possible suggestion for an etymological origin for *mleccha*/*milakkha*. Firstly, this as well as some of the other similar possibilities, are based on theoretical assumptions, hypothetical reconstructions from modern Dravidian. Secondly, and more importantly, they are further based on certain other assumptions: 1) *Melakkha* must be identified with Western India. 2) that there was an actual existence of proto Dravidian (different from modern Dravidian)⁵⁶ language in Northern and Western India. 3) The proposed original *Ta-miḷ-akam* is the name of a country even though *mleccha*/*milakkha* are ethnic appellations.⁵⁷ 4) "the fact that the earliest known *mlecchas* spoke an Aryan language does not preclude the possibility that the word originally denoted the Pre-Aryan Indus people"⁵⁸. It is a question of opinion whether the Indo-European etymologies may be considered as 'convincing' by scholars⁵⁹. On our part it cannot be forgotten that if the Dravidian group of languages had spread all over Northern India before the arrival of the Indo-Aryans, there could also have existed other non-Aryan linguistic groups which are now totally extinct. Could *mleccha* and *milakkha* have been related to similar words in those languages?

Though the original forms of the words *mleccha*/*milakkha* cannot be conclusively deduced, a critical appraisal of some of the above-mentioned theories has helped us to come to significant conclusions on the subject as a whole. Methodologically, one has rejected a single approach to be the solution of the problem.

Apparently, *mleccha* seems to have emerged suddenly in early brahmanical literature without even the slightest hint of a similar form in Vedic Sanskrit. This ambiguity is now explained in that we reject *mleccha* as the seminal form from which the other variants were supposed to have emerged or derived. It seems more plausible that *mleccha* in Sanskrit was adopted from Prakrit either as *mleccha* itself, or derived from

milakkha as the sounds *-cch-* and *-kkh-* are more common in the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects and easily interchangeable. Could one then conclude that *mleccha* of the, instead of being transformed to **mlekka* or any other hypothetical form through a set pattern of phonological rules, was retained in its Prakrit form and continued to be used in this manner by successive Sanskrit writers? The contradiction between *-cch-* in *mleccha* (Sanskrit) and *-kkh-* in *milakkha* (Pāli) does not remain unexplained, if the theory that both were originally Prakrit forms of the same word is accepted. Besides, it may not be a coincidence that the utterance of the *asuras* (*he lavah he lavah*) in the same verse of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III, 2, 1, 24) is a mispronunciation of Sanskrit *he 'rayo he 'rayo*. Perhaps, it is for this reason that it is dubbed as '*mleccha*' and must be avoided by speakers of 'right speech'.

Burrow⁶⁰ has rightly pointed out that:

"a fair amount of material exists (in MIA) which cannot be explained out of Sanskrit, Vedic or Classical but only out of equally ancient, but different form of Indo- Aryan..."

Further, the suggestion brought forth by the hypothesis that the influence of proto-Dravidian sounds into Indo-Aryan took place through Prakrit cannot be wholly dismissed.

Ultimately, changes in the politico-economic set-up and in the socio-religious sphere gave perspective to the concept of *mleccha* speech, and above all, the status of a *mleccha* emerges more as a cultural feature rather than a linguistic fact.

ABBREVIATIONS:

The use of the asterisk symbol (*) alongside words indicates that it has been hypothetically constructed.

BPSC: Bulletin of the Philological Society of Calcutta

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

CSS: Chowkambha Sanskrit Series

IP: Indogermannische Parallelen

JBORS: Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

JESHO: Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient

PIHC: Proceedings of the Indian History Congress

ZDMG: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft

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- 2 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III 2, 1, 24.
- 3 Saṃyutta Nikāya, V, 466.
- 4 Vinaya Piṭaka, III, 28.
- 5 R. L. Turner, *Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages*, 1966, 10398; R. Pischel, *Comparative Grammar of Prakrit Languages*, 1965 para 17. Forms such as *miliccha*, *micchā*, *milittṭha*, *mēccha*, *mīch*, *mech*, *mlech*, etc. occur.
- 6 O. Bothlingk and R. Roth, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, (German), 1858 Vol. V, p. 934; M. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1899, p. 837; R. C. Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, 1875, p. 247 *Shabda Kalpadrum*, CSS, 1967, vol. III, pp. 791-92, etc.
- 7 Aloka Parasher, 'The Designation *Mleccha* for Foreigners in Early India', *PIHC*, XL Session, Waltair, 1979 pp. 109-120.
- 8 m I 21 1, 24- *upajigyāsyāin sa mlecchas tasmān na brāhmaṇa mlecchad asuryā haisā vāg evam...* / "He (who speaks thus) is mleccha hence let no brāhmaṇa speak barbarous language".
- 9 L. Sarup, *Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta*, 1920, p. 54.
- 10 O. Bohtlingk *Pāṇini Grammatik*, 1887, *Dhātupāṭha*, I, 22 XI 121.

- 11 M. Monier Williamsl Op. cit., 1899, p. 837.
- 12 This has an important bearing when one considers it in the light of another important observation, namely, that it is only in texts datable from the centuries AD that the word *mleccha* is used evidently as a designation for particular groups of peoples, both tribal and foreign. cf. A. Parasher, Op. cit., 1979, pp. 109-120.
- 13 G. B. Palsule, *The Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas*, 1961, p. ix.
- 14 *Aṣṭādhyāī*, VIII 2, 18- *kṣubdhasvā-ntadhvāntalagna-mliṣṭ viribdhetyādi*.
- 15 Subrahmanya Sastri, *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I, 1944, p. 25, I, 1/1.
- 16 J. Kirste, *The Dhātupāṭha of Hemachandra*, 1901, 1, 119.
- 17 *The Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti of Sāyanachārya*, KSS, 1934, I, 203.
- 18 R. Pischel, Op. cit., 1965, para 17. In *Māhārāṣṭri* the participle *mliṣṭha* is noted.
- 19 *Ibid*, para, 17.
- 20 Hemachandra, I, 1, A.c. Woolner, *Introduction to Prakrit* 1928, p.3, considers this explanation as "perfectly intelligible even if it be not historically correct."
- 21 *Prakriti* means 'natural condition', whereas *samskr̥ta* literally means 'polished', 'made perfect'.
- 22 A.C. Woolner, Op. cit., 1928, p. 3 points out that sometimes an 'old Indo- Aryan form required to explain a Prakrit word is not found in Sanskrit at all or only in a late work and obviously borrowed from Prakrit.
- 23 R. Pischel, Op. cit., 1965, para, 6, p. 4.
- 24 *Nirukta*, II, 2.
- 25 T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*, 1972, pp. 273-274.
- 26 *Ibid*. p. 274.
- 27 There are however many others who advocated a separation of the Pāli and Sanskrit forms but attribute different etymologies for each. E.g. I. Scheftelowitz, 'Kleine Mitteilugen', *ZDMG*, Vol.

72, 1918, pp. 243-244; B. liebich, 'Nochmals *mleccha*', *BSOAS*, Vol. VIII, 1936.

28 V. Pisani, 'Kleinere Beitrage', *IF*, vol. 57, 1938-40, pp. 56-58. Sir H. W. Bailey, 'Appendix of a Periplus of Magan and Meluhha by John Hansman', *BSOAS*, vol. XXXVI, pt. 3, 1973, III, 1); (b).

29 Ibid. p. 584.

30 R. Pischel, Op. cit., 1965, para 233; S. M. Katre, 'Sanskrit 'kṣ' in Pāli', *JBORS*, vol. XXIII, 1937, pp. 82-86.

31 Reproduced from S. R. Banerjee, 'On the Etymology of Prakrit *rukṣha* and *vaccha* meaning 'Tree', *BPSC*, vol. III, pt. I, 1962, p. 14.

32	IE	SANS	MIA	AV	OP
	* ks	kṣ	cch	ś	ś
	*qs	kṣ	kkh	xś	xś

33 S. K. Chatterjee, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, vol. I, 1926, p. 44.

34 A. Weber, *The History of Indian Literature*, 1914, pp. 67-68.

35 The association of the origin of Prakrit *milakkha* with the Dravidian substratum is in western India. Discussed above.

36 S.R. Banerjee, Op. cit., 1962, p.14.

37 Asko and Simo Parpola, 'On the relationship of the Sumerian, toponym Meluhha and Sanskrit *Mleccha*, *Studia Orientalia*, vol. 46, 1975, p. 206.

38 W. F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the old Babylonian Period*, 1960, p. 164; 'Old Babylonian letters and Economic History' *JESHO*, vol. XI, 1968, p. 223. The views of Gadd on the subject were influenced by the suggestions given to him by A. L. Basham. Basham, however, has written nothing on the *mlecchas*.

39 J. Hansam, 'A Periplus of Magan and Meluhha' *BSOAS*, vol. 36, pt.iii, 1973, p.564.

40 R. Thapar, 'A Possible identification of Meluhha, Dilmun and Makan', *JESHO*, vol. XVIII, pp. 1-42.

41 Ibid. p.5, p.10.

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- 43 P. Aalto, 'Marginal Notes on the Meluhha Problem', *Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Volume*, 1971, pp. 234-238."
- 44 Asko & Simo Parpola, *Op. cit.*, 1975, pp.205-238.
- 45 Parpola *et. al.*, *Decipherement of the Proto-Dravidian Inscriptions of the Indus Valley*, 1969, (Nos.1 and 2), 1970, (No.3).
- 46 Ibid. 1970, No.3, p.37. The *me-lāh-ha* are a clan from a Dravidian Sindhi tribe known as *Mohāna*.
- 47 Ibid. 1969, No.2, p.38.
- 48 T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 1961.
- 49 Parpola *et al.*, *Op. cit.*, 1969, No.2, p. 38, Asko & Simo Parpola, *Op. cit.*, 1975, p.220.
- 50 Asko & Simo Parpola, *Op. cit.*, 1975, p. 220.
- 51 Parpola *et al.*, *op. cit.*, 1970, No.3, p. 37.
- 52 Ibid. pp.223-225; p.225. *Meluhha* (or *Me-lāh-ha*) are sign-by-sign transliterations of the cuneiform signs, and therefore tell little about the 'phonetic shape of the word these signs seek to render' (p. 224).
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Asko & Sima Parpola, *Op. cit.*, 1975, p. 225.
- 56 M. B. Emeneau, *Collected Papers*, 1967, p.160 — "the Dravidian substratum is easily accessible in its dozen or more living languages and in that a Proto- Dravidian can be worked out...."
- 57 Asko & Sima Parpala, *Op. Cit.*, 1975, p.220
- 58 Ibid. pp.214-215.
- 59 Ibid. p.208.
- 60 Burrow, *Op. cit.*, 1972, p.45.



PRELIMINARIES TO LEXICAL STRUCTURE IN DRAVIDIAN

B. Ramakrishna Reddy

"Every language is integrated with the culture in which it operates; and its lexical structure (as well as at least part of its grammatical structure) reflects those distinctions which are (or have been) important in the culture"

Sir John Lyons (1977: 248)

1. Introduction

The structure of language can be taken as consisting of the dichotomous division of grammar and lexicon¹. Further the grammar is conceived as having the levels of phonology, morphology and syntax. Another higher level of semantics is spread over both the areas of grammar as well as lexicon (or vocabulary). In other words, the study of meaning can be undertaken either as grammatical meaning or lexical meaning, or even both of them. Any integral and comprehensive discussion of language structure has to concentrate on both the aspects. However, the present study focuses on word-meaning (without undermining the importance of grammatical meaning) with the objective of exploring the interrelationship between lexical structure and native culture of the Dravidian – speaking people. In other words, an attempt is made to study certain (selected) aspects of ethnosemantics as reflected in the structure of Dravidian vocabularies.

As postulated by Andre Martinet and Michael Halliday, grammar is a closed system whereas lexicon is an open system. While the former is rigid, the latter is susceptible to change and growth (or even decay). Linguists and lexicographers are familiar with the fact that over a period of time, on the one hand, most of the languages gain new vocabularies by adopting (or borrowing) from other sources, on the other they may lose

lexical items due to sociocultural, political and technological developments. For example, within the last quarter of a century, the occupational terminology of agriculture in modern Indian languages has undergone a tremendous change due to new technological devices replacing the earlier traditional tools, implements and methods of cultivation. The previous native vocabularies are replaced by new items such as motor, fuse, borewell, tractor, hosepipe etc. So is the case with the lexical fields of utensils (pottery for cooking, storing, serving, eating from etc.), the fuel and methods of cooking, household furniture, transport, entertainment, political system, interpersonal communication, observance of rituals, family relations, kin-terms, strategies of address and reference and several other fields. When languages are exposed to new (or even alien) cultures and technologies, they adopt the new material culture along with borrowing the words standing for the new items, as we are familiar with terms like T.V., Computer, C.D., online, missiles, carpet bombing and other items in our daily use.

2. Certain lexical fields

Lexical studies is a vast area comprising the traditional dictionary making to the latest computational lexicography on the one hand, and the study of vocabulary from the perspective of traditional semantics to that of lexical pragmatics of the present day concern. The cultural nuances of a particular language are most transparently encapsulated in the lexical structure of a given language or a group of languages. The ethnolinguistic study of any language concentrates on the vocabulary of a given language, which leads to ethnosemantics that will form a basis for ethnolexicon and preparation of thesaurus. In the present study a preliminary analysis of some of the selected lexical fields is undertaken with a view to compare and contrast the vocabulary from the perspective of componential analysis².

2.1 Demonstratives

Dravidian languages are rich in encapsulating referential (or locational) as well as descriptive (grammatical) information in their demonstrative interrogatives and certain adverbs. The lexical field of demonstration indicates the composition of several features in a single lexical item as can be observed from the following data from Manda and Telugu. (Ramakrishna Reddy, 1990)

(1) COMPONENTIAL DESCRIPTION OF DEMONSTRATIVES IN MANDA³

Locational information	Semantic information					
	+Human				- Human	
	+ Male		- Male		Sg.	Pl.
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.		
+ Proximate	ivan	ivar	idel	ivahin	idi	i
[- proximate + visible]	uvan	Uvar	udel	uvahin	u:di	u
[-proximate -visible]	e:van	e:var	e:del	e:vahin	e:di	e

(2) COMPONENTIAL DESCRIPTION OF
DEMONSTRATIVES IN TELUGU

Locational information	Semantic information				
	+Human			- Human	
	Sg.		Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
	+ Masculine	- Masculine			
+ Proximate	<i>vi:Du</i>	<i>i:me</i>	<i>vi:llu</i>	<i>idi</i>	<i>lvi</i>
- Proximate	<i>va:Du</i>	<i>a:me</i>	<i>va:llu</i>	<i>adi</i>	<i>Avi</i>

(3) MANDA INTERROGATIVES EQUIVALENT TO 'WHO'

inan
 (Question
 Human
 Masculine
 Singular)

inar
 (Question
 Human
 Masculine
 Plural)

indel
 (Question
 Human
 Feminine
 Singular)

inahin
 (Question
 Human
 Feminine
 Plural)

2.2. Kinship terms

The Dravidian Kinship terms are a reflection of sociocultural norms of Dravidian speaking people. From the perspective of the ego a kinship term incorporates the sex, age as well as status of the referent. For example the translational equivalents of 'brother' and 'sister' are missing in Dravidian as we have the following Telugu items, namely:

(4)	<i>akka</i>	-	elder sister
	<i>celle</i>	-	younger sister
	<i>anna</i>	-	elder brother
	<i>tammuDu</i>	-	younger brother

When compared to Hindi, for example, the grand parents from the mother as well as father's side not differentiated as they are denoted by one and the same terms, as in Telugu *ta:ta* and *avva*, whereas Hindi as *na:na* 'mother's father' and *na:ni*, 'mother's mother' *da:da* 'father's father' and *da:di* 'father's mother'.

Lexical choice is one of the crucial factors regarding vocabulary studies. Out of different synonyms for a particular concept, a specific word is selected depending upon the criteria of speaker's attitude, social status of speaker and referent, the context of utterance and several other sociocultural factors. For example the Telugu equivalent words for 'wife' are *sri:mati*, *bha:rya*, *peḷḷa:m*, *ma: a:viDa*, *ma: illa:lu*, *ma: inṭa:viDa*, *ma: a:Dadi*, *ma: inṭlo:di* etc.,.

Each one of these deserves a pragmatic explanation. Similarly the equivalent of 'husband' *sri:va:ru*, *bharta*, *moguDu*, *penimiṭi*, *ma: a:yana*, *ma:ba:va*, *ma: va:ru*, *ma: inṭa:yana*, *ma: ma:ma*, *ma: inṭo:Du*, *ma: saccino:Du*, etc.,. Another example can be different words for the same term as for example, 'father' *ayya*, *abba*, *na:yana*, *na:nna*, *na:nnaga:ru*, *tanDri*, etc.

2.3 Noun classifiers

The morpho-syntactic features of classifying nouns is reflected through nominal classifier system in some of the Dravidian languages. Nouns in Telugu can be classified as [+countable] and [-countable]. Within the countable, there is a distinction of human, non-human, and the rest. In the case of Manda, the following table shows a four-way classification of nouns:

(5) NOUN CLASSIFIERS IN MANDA

Noun			
+ Count			- Count
+ Animate		- Animate	Ø
+ Human	- Human	goṭe	
jaṇ	munD		

Thus a noun phrase can be rewritten as

Noun Phrase > Numeral + Classifier + Noun

The noun phrase consists of the numeral followed by the relevant classifier-marker (as a suffix) before the head noun. Observe the following examples.

- (6) *sa:ri-jaṇ kaDder* 'Four boys'
four class. boys
- (7) *sa:ri munD uDeṇ* 'Four goats'
four class. goats
- (8) *sa:ri goṭe marke* 'Four trees'
four class. trees

Similarly in Malto there is a five-way classification as can be gathered from the following examples (Mahapatra, 1979: 121-138):

- (9) *a:dek tini jen maler barcar* - 'Three people
there three class. people are came there'
- (10) *ahik tin maq baṛdi beyid* - 'He has three
him to three class. cows are cows'
- (11) *a:h tini paṛa kaldin lapiycah* - 'He ate three he
three class. bananas ate bananas'
- (12) *a:h tini goṭ patlin ocāh* - 'He took three he
three class. pots took pots'

- (13) *i: qepno tti man mand t:hd* - 'There are three trees in this village'

this village in three class. trees are

Here *jen* stands for human, *maq* for non-human, *para* for long frods and fruits, *goḥ* for round and heavy objects, and also for miscellaneous objects, and *man* for long and tall objects like trees, in the ethnosemantic classification of the experiential world.

2.4 Significant semantic notions

Dravidian languages are rich in differentiating state processes, activities etc., into several divisions depending upon the semantic notions essentially involved. For example, the verbs equivalent to wash, break, hit, move, consume, give etc. have several words for each, thereby lexicalising different shades and perspectives as conceived by the language community. For example, the English verb 'to wash' has at least five equivalents in Telugu, namely, *utuku*, *koDugu*, *to:mu*, *pulumu*, and *tuDucu*. The Tamil language is rich in lexicalising such nuances, for example, the equivalent of 'to give' has at least three lexical items namely, *koDu*, *taru* and *i:*. The selection of each one of these items is constrained by several pragmatic factors like the recipient being [\pm conversational participant] (i.e. speaker and hearer). The selection and distinction of the first two items (i.e. *koDu* and *taru*) is based on the philosophical criterion of speech event participant. If the recipient is one speaker or addressee (syntactically first or second person) *taru* is used, if the recipient is other speech event interlocutors (i.e. third person) *koDu* is employed. For example

- (14) *enakku taru* 'give me' (imperative)
 (15) *unakku taruva:n* 'He will give you'
 (16) *avanukku kuDuppa:n* 'He will give him'

When the recipient is of a low status, the last item, namely *i* is used by him as a request to the addressee for the latter's courtesy or donation.

Another set of verbs concerns the verbs 'to come' and 'to go'. The details of these involve the location of speaker and his addressee at the time of speech situation. *va* involves movement of a person or an entity towards the speaker whereas *po* indicates movement of an object or person away from the location of the speech act participants. Similarly *teccu* 'to bring', *pampu* 'to send' also indicate the sense relation of converse-ness. Same is the case with *koru* 'to buy' and *ammu* 'to sell' (cf. Ramakrishna Reddy, 1980).

Another division of semantic nuances in verbs can be cited from the equivalent of the verb 'to decay' from Manda, wherein each lexical item indicates the object undergoing the process indicated by the verb.

(17)	<i>naha</i>	'to decay (gruel)'
	<i>he:ŋ</i>	'to rot (eggs)'
	<i>hab</i>	'to decay (rice or fish)'
	<i>drahka</i>	'to decay (mutton)'
	<i>ma:ŋ</i>	'to decay (cooked vegetables)'
	<i>kru:nd</i>	'to decay (fruits)'
	<i>u:m a</i>	'to decay (flour or roots)'
	<i>talana</i>	'to decay (pulse)'

Yet another semantic field with the equivalent of the verb 'to copulate' is lexicalised in Manda as hereunder differentiating the mates involved as birds, animals or human beings.

(18)	Birds	<i>ju:l hal</i>	cock and hen
	Animals	<i>aŋvaŋ ah</i>	bull and cow
	Human	<i>kaŋD</i>	man and woman

3. Ethnicity and language structure

No language hinders its speakers from expressing their cultural and social values. The interaction between culture and language can be traced in the vocabulary, and to a less extent in the grammatical structure (Ramakrishna Reddy, 1980). The Kondh tribal languages have been for centuries, in active contact with both Indo-Aryan and Munda languages. The bilingualism noticeable among them is preceded by biculturalism, thereby producing mutual influences both on culture as well as language structure and oral literature.

Regarding vocabulary structure John Lyons states "Every language is integrated with the culture in which it operates and the word meanings which a language establishes are structured in terms of distinctions that are important in that culture" (Lyons, 1977). The subdivision of culturally relevant semantic fields into an elaborate, lexical system is a common trait across languages of the world, as is noticed through various words for snow in Icelandic, camel in Arabic, frog in Gaelic, honey in Kadar, snake in Munda, mushroom in Kuvu etc. Focusing on culturally relevant words in English, Russian, Polish, German and Japanese Wierzbicka (1987) argues how lexicon primarily encapsulates the way of thinking, conceptual universals and world-view of a speech community. The lexical structure of Manda, for example, exhibits a culture-loaded vocabulary, which is unique for the ethnic group of Kondhs. The religious functionaries and officials such as priests and dignitaries involved in the sacrificial festival of Tuki and the hierarchy are expressed by native monomorphemic lexical items as given below:

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------------------|
| (19) <i>muly</i> | - 'high priest, the chief' |
| <i>janu</i> | - 'priest, shaman' |
| <i>gurmay</i> | - 'the woman, possessed of spirit' |
| <i>dihavari</i> | - 'astrologer, diviner' |

- duvar* - 'representatives on the festival committee'
- mududaryo* - 'the person who takes in procession the sacrificed animal around the village'
- ruppyo* - 'the man who collects the blood and flesh of sacrificed animals'.

As can be gathered, these lexical items are structured in their connotative and denotative meaning with regard to each other, thereby rendering an exact expression in an entire semantic field salient to the culture of the ethnic group. Both instances can be multiplied with many lexical fields of relevance (for details see Parasakshi Reddy, 2001, Nagamma Reddy and Parasakshi Reddy, 2003). The culture of everyday life gets reflected in the lexical structure of language, which is a powerful tool of expression. The interaction between meaning and linguistic form, along with externalization has far reaching implications for anthropology, history, sociology and other social sciences as well as literature and other branches of humanities (cf. Duranti, 1997).

Vocabulary items can also be classified, from the linguistic viewpoint, into native and borrowed items. The latter are equally significant in that they indicate a cultural (spiritual or material) contact between two groups, either direct or indirect. They act, sometimes, as indicators of biculturalism and bilingualism among the speakers of borrowing language. A major language can borrow from minor languages also as in the case of Tamil (see Parasakshi Reddy, 1997). These borrowings act as transmitters of new knowledge and as fillers of lexical gaps in the recipient language.

The Konda community accords great importance to their ancestral spirits and they offer the spirits whatever is produced and consumed by the people. The liquor has a very significant ritual role in the life of the tribal community. In a wedding ceremony the participation of

liquor as a ritual drink is of great value as can be seen the following division of liquor depending upon the context of a particular ritual and the occasion of consumption.

(20)	<i>vetpa kahn</i>	'ceremonial or sacrificial liquor offered to Mother-Earth'
	<i>venbakalin</i>	'inquiry/discussion/agreement liquor'
	<i>batgagan</i>	'wayside-liquor(consumed travel)'
	<i>ma:lakah</i>	'betrothal liquor (hosted groom's parents)'
	<i>julkuna kahn</i>	'welcome drink given to bride's people by groom's parents on the eve of the bride's arrival at the in-laws' village'
	<i>julakalin</i>	'bride-price liquor (liquor sent bride's parents along with other gifts as part of bride-price to the groom's parents)'

4. Lexical doublets or copulative compounds

A lexical doublet (LD) can be defined as a set of words in a certain constrained order whose members of an identical syntactic category, (i.e. part of speech) pertain to a particular semantic field (or conceptual field) exhibit a specific sense relation between them, and (they) may some times be connected by a lexical conjunctive particle. In literature LD is also known as balance word, binomial copulative compound, *divandiva* (compound), lexical pair, lexical duet. Lexical doublet is not identical with other different from echo - word, reduplication, onomatopoeia and other expressives both in form and function.

(21) LD → W1 + W2 + (link)

A lexical doublet contains a minimum of two associated words connected, optionally by a link element.

(22)	e.g.	'boy'	and 'girl'
	Telugu :	abba:yi	amma:yi
	Hindi :	laṛka:	laṛki:
	Parengi :	guri	ru
	Kuvi :	kokasi	po:da
	Tamil :	payyaram	pennum
	Manda :	kaDde	ga:ṛhi

4.1 Formal proprieties of LD and its identification and isolation are based on the criteria of morpho-syntactic and phonetic - phonological structure. The morpho-syntactic constraints on the order of the two constituents W1 and W2 are somewhat rigid. A sort of fixed order is essential and generally they are not reversible (cf. Malkiel, 1959 and Lyons, 1977:270-287). When they are forcefully reversed they behave like a conjunction of two unrelated items, not as an LD and may turn out to be unacceptable. The reversed order of words of Telugu in (23) are not acceptable to the native speakers as a lexical pair.

(23)	'village - suburb'	u:ru wa:Da	*wa:Da u:ru
	'cooking - straining'	wa:ṛa wa:ṛuṇu	*wa:ṛu wa:ṛa

Observe the following words for 'parents' from different languages

(24)	Hindi	mā	ba:p	Tamil	appa	amma
	Telugu	amma	na:nna	Manda	a:ba	aya
	KonDa	yaya	buba	Oriya	bapa	ma
	Desia	aya	aba	Parengi	aurun	ayan

There is an identical morpho-syntactic (or part of speech) category restriction on the two members, as can be gathered from the following Telugu pairs:

(25)	Noun:	ulḥa	wa:kili	'house and front yard'
		konDa	ko:na	'mountain and valley'

(26)	Derived	ra:ka	po:ka	'arrival and departure'
	nominal	kalumu	le:mu	'riches and poverty'

- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| (27) Adjective: | <i>paṭṭa</i> | <i>kotta</i> | 'old and new' |
| | <i>manca</i> | <i>ceḍḍa</i> | 'good and bad' |
| (28) Verb | <i>ṭingi</i> | <i>maruḥ (malli)</i> | 'turn and return' |
| | <i>alasi</i> | <i>solasi</i> | 'tired and exhausted' |

4.2 There may be some confusion regarding the status of certain categories, for example, LD versus phrase and compound. These three are to be understood as separate categories as LD with two nouns is not a conjoined NP which can be tested on the criterion of the agreement test. If it is a conjoined NP the finite verb in Telugu will reflect agreement for plural subject, whereas if it is a singular number agreement with LD as a subject (at least in some cases).

- (29) *i:Du: jo:Du: kuḍirindi* The age of company.
 * *i:Du: jo:Du: kuḍirinaaya* well matched'

Furthermore, LD is not structurally identical with the possessive construction like genitive +

- (30) *mandu: ma:ku* 'medicine and tree' is different from *manca: ma:ku* 'medicinal plant'

LD with two nouns, for example, is not a co-ordinate compound though sometimes the W1 and W2 are conjoined by lengthening the final vowel of W1 (this lengthening is a marker of conjunction in colloquial Telugu derived from - *unu* of old Telugu and Tamil *um*, reconstructable proto-Dravidian *-*um*).

4.3 Phonetic - Phonological Criterion: When compared to their occurrence in isolation, the two members W1 and W2 show pitch, length, glottal structure or segmental quality difference in an LD. The phonotactic similarity leading to rhyme (with rhythmic pattern) contributes to phonoaesthetic sense, as attested by the Telugu items of (31) and (32).

[31] kappu:	baḥḥu	'dress and vermillion'
pillu:	ṇilla	'children and the like'
we:ḷa:	pa:ḷa	'time and occasion'
ompu:	ṇompu	'curve and beauty'
va:Du:	pe:Du	'rope and chip'
aDapa:	daDapa	'now and then'

Inversion of a consonant before W2 as onset of the first vowel syllable is also noticed.

[32] a:sti	pu:sti	'property'
aDapa	daDapa	'now and then'
avaka	taṇaka	'confusion' (these items occur only in an LD, not in isolation.)

Syllable structure of W1 and W2 exhibit equal syllable weight in most cases of LDs, (see the above examples), but not in all instances.

4.4 Regarding semantic relations and properties, the meaning of an LD is not the sum total of the meanings of W1+W2, literal or cognitive meanings are extended to general or connotative meaning, for example, *uṇṇa* 'cooking' *uṇṇu* 'straining' '*uṇṇa uṇṇu*' 'whole process of cooking, *uṇṇa uṇṇu* does not mean simply cooking and straining' but the preparation of food in general.

Certain Seme-relations in selected semantic fields may be worth discussing at this stage before taking up a detailed study from a particular language.

Synonymy may be exemplified from the following examples of Telugu in [33]

[33] panDaga	paḥḥam	'festival'
mandu	ma:ḥu	'medicine'

pilla *pa:pa* 'children'

Opposition: antonym and complementarity
gradability and ungradability hyponymy, part - whole and
converse relations are exemplified below. It is to be
remembered that in an LD both W1 + W2 belong to the
same semantic field and they are equal partners, in
expressing the given sense-relations

In an LD the first member of the pair (w_1) shares a
particular sense-relation with the second member (w_2)
and it is also different from the other in some semantic
detail. Both of them belong to the same semantic field. The
notion of oppositeness (antonymy) appears to be a central
figure of this system. Indian languages are replete with
such pairs of lexical items. Their use indicates an
idiomatic native expression system and cultural life. As a
representative, the following semantic fields are selected
from Manda, a tribal Dravidian language.

(34) Body parts

<i>ki</i>	<i>ka:l</i>	'hand - leg'
<i>gitual</i>	<i>munjel</i>	'ear - nose'
<i>pu:ta</i>	<i>ga:gar</i>	stomach - back'
<i>va:y</i>	<i>vahker</i>	mouth - intestine'
<i>nete:r</i>	<i>tu:pka</i>	blood - flesh'
<i>tu:ku</i>	<i>ma:ra</i>	'feather - wing'

(35) Kin terms

<i>aṇDraṇ</i>	<i>a:ske</i>	'men - women'
<i>a:ba</i>	<i>aya</i>	'father - mother'
<i>Dukra</i>	<i>Dukri</i>	'husband - wife'
<i>na:na</i>	<i>e:mi</i>	'elder sister - young sister'
<i>ma:ma</i>	<i>putlen</i>	'mother's brother - spouse's father'

(36) Animals and birds

ku:Da	kuDru	'cow - buffalo'
u:De	me:nDa	'goat - sheep'
kuyke	panjin	'fowls - pigs'
burka	Dubli	'tiger - cheetah'
burka	ba:tu	'tiger - bear'
ra:ma:n	le:r	'vulture - kite'

(37) Food items

ku:r	e:y	'gruel - water'
pa:l	dayi	'milk - yoghurt'
ga:pa	uge:n	'fried rice - plain rice'
kabij	landan	'liquor - beer'
u:n	pu:y	'meat - flower'
kussa	Da:n	'vegetables - lentils'

(38) Land and plants

apla	ba:pa	'wet land - dry land'
ja:na	varku:na	'water fall - stream'
ahker	kasra	'weed - trash'
ka:y	Digra	'pit - hillock'
vele	ha:y	'thorn - creeper'

(39) Seeds, pulses, etc.

prey	many:n	'rice - flat rice'
ku:bin	te:le:n	'paddy - maize (ra:gi)
te:le	ku:hya	'maize ₁ - maize ₂ '

arke	kuyan	'maize ₁ - maize ₂ '
arhuṇ	aṛhuṇ	'maize ₁ - maize ₂ '

(40) Tools (hunting, agriculture)

parṭu	pyā	'butcher's knife - axe'
veṅgu	ka:tri	'sickle - knife'
aṇe	ame	'small arrow - big arrow'
hu:ri	ba:la	'knife - spear'
kuḍḍu	habṇi	'hoe - another type of hoe'
he:si	pu:pa	'winnowing pan - a big basket'

(41) Pots and plates

taṇḍu	Du:ka	'pot - small dish'
ḡuṇḡ	maṇḍiṇ	'dining plate - earthen dining plate'
na:ti	ḡanya	'cooking pot - water pot'

(42) Insects

ḡamra	purle	'cockroach - fly'
ta:r	he:ṅṅe	'ant - worm'
pen	hir	'louse - nit'

(43) Professions/ castes etc.

Duṇḡ	paṇḡ	'Doms - Parjas'
ma:ḡ	te:liṇ	'gardeners - oilmen'
sa:biṇ	rajaṇ	'officials - kings'
baṇḡ	kuṇuṇiṇ	'Brahmins - Clerks'

(44) Miscellaneours

il	ga nDa	'house - watchman'
koruṁ	kaṇḍa	'luck - fate'
heṇḍa	gaṇḍa	'saree - cloth'
uḍaṛ	vaḍa	'principal - interest'
kaṇḍa	taṇḍi	'cot - mat'
peṇ	maṇḍi	'God - demon'
leṇḍi	kaṇḍa	'moon - star'
aṇḍi	baṇḍa	'cubit - span'
na	merka	'oil - turmeric'
in	aṇḍi	'you - I'



These sets are confined to nouns. They agree in number with one another i.e. both are either singular or plural.

5. Wider implications

The concept of lexical field is based on conceptual field i.e. human perception, categorisation and world-view as a psychological and perceptual process. There is a sociocultural or anthropological basis for selection of the members. The notions of philosophical or epistemological, and biological or ecological factors seem to play a vital role here. The study of semantic relations confined to a lexical field as revealed in LD is a clue for semantic domain of W1 - W2. Lexicography and thesaurus making will benefit from the exploration of semantic properties in LDs. And from morpho-syntactic viewpoint, LD is a productive process of word formation through compounding.

6. Concluding remarks

Lexical structure of even a single language is very vast and a researcher faces an insurmountable problem in analysing and describing the linguistic and semantic features and nuances involved across the vocabularies. It

is still more difficult when one has to look at the lexical structure of a particular language family, even when confined to selected areas. In this paper an initial attempt is made to identify some of the facts within lexical studies and to provide a sort of description with examples from the Dravidian languages that I am familiar with. The discussion is in no way conclusive and it only indicates some of the potential aspects worth pursuing. Providing feature analysis for lexical items is not so well established or based as in the case of distinctive features in phonology. This is for the obvious reasons that socio-cultural, economic, political and technological impact on human life is reflected in the ever-growing vocabularies and their meanings. Being an open-ended system, lexical items cannot definitely and finally be decomposed in terms of distinctive semantic features or sense-relations. However, a study with the perspective of structural semantics, componential analysis, lexical field theory, sense-relations and other semantic viewpoints reveals the importance of lexical studies for theoretical as well as practical purposes. In the applied area, the knowledge that we gain from lexical studies will be highly useful to be utilised in the preparation of conceptual dictionaries (as opposed to traditional alphabetical dictionaries), preparation of thesaurus, learner's dictionaries, language teaching (L1 and L2) and translation across Indian languages as well as from Indian to foreign languages and vice-versa.

Notes

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2. Componential analysis is "a treatment of lexical meaning in which the sense of each unit is distinguished from those of others by a set of semantic features or components" (Matthews, 1997:65). A lucid exposition of its theoretical treatment is found in Lyons (1968: 470-481 and 1977).
3. The data on Manda are drawn from my own field notes, published and forthcoming works on the language. The assistance and knowledge of the principal informant Mr. Sanatan Majhi (Katkura, Thuamal Rampur, Kalahandi District, Orissa) are gratefully acknowledged.

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SPECTRUM OF 20TH CENTURY KANNADA LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE*

Hampa. Nagarajaiah

Prologue

It has been wisely said that Indian literature is one, though written in different regional languages. But this statement is simplification and over estimation of the real facts. The spectrum of Indian literature has different regional colors. Sometimes particular regional literature look more brighter and brilliant than its counterpart elsewhere.

In the history of any literature, any century is not an exclusively independent entity. Literature of a living language like Kannada, is a continuous process with a past, present and a future. Hence, literature has to be viewed on a broader perspective. However, for the convenience of study and assessment of a particular span of time, of a century for example, is meaningful. Albeit, it may take a decade or two more to dispassionately assess an overall achievements of 20th century Kannada language and literature.

What were the literary challenges before the creative faculty at the dawn of 20th century is worth contemplating. Kannada literature had its wax and wane and by the end of 19th century, and even in the early decade of the 20th century, literary scenario of Indian languages, except Bengali language, had faded into oblivion. Kannada creativity was at a very low ebb. It could neither bring back the glorious past nor could create a new literary tradition. Virtually Kannada literary activity commenced from the third decade. The dominating force to abet was the revival of the glorious millennium old literary tradition. Motivated by a common cause, literatures actively participated in the movement seeking fresh vigor, fertility and technique.

This pursuit and total involvement yielded positive results and the successive years saw stimulus of progressive urge to vitalise literary output. New forces of tremendous potency animated the process. Kannada soon attained the required precision and status, and became the most effective media of intellectual and cultural ethos of the land and the people.

Synchronising the situation were the enormous influences of English literature. The brighter side of the British rule was that it opened the doors of education for one and all, and galvanized the vernaculars by publishing many vital and unpublished literary texts. Several texts of the different regions of the country were explored. Breathtakingly new material, not available to scholars and critics about half a century ago, came to light. Thus it was made possible to look with fresh eye, in a more empirical manner, on the problems of classical quality, the medieval period developments and the notion of cultural movements.

The Kannada literary scene, swiftly and spontaneously shifted from pessimistic note to optimistic efflorescence. Concurrent with this new wave of renaissance came the spiritual impact of the preaching and writings of Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurabindo. Indian literature could not escape the sway and imprint of the literary luminaries like Bankimachandra, Rabindranath Tagore, Saratchandra and Premchand. Translations of Bengali novels by B. Venkatacharya, and the works of Galaganatha and M.S. Puttanna quickened the process of Kannada genius in quest of new models of expression.

Colonial Scenario

To free the country from the British yoke was the National issue. Charged with sensible sentiments and patriotic emotions, men of letters responded to the dynamic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and joined the main stream of freedom struggle. The clarion call of Poet -laureate Kuvempu rightly symbolises and echoes the mood of the creative world:

Forget the Hundreds of Gods
Come let us join our hands
To worship India, supreme goddess

Influences of all this and much more relieved Kannada literature from the rigidity of rhyme (of *prāsa*, initial alliteration) and from the golden chain of stereotyped *kanda*, *śatpada*, *sāṅgatyā* and *vytta*, the metrical compositions which had over-lived and lacked poetic excellence. Similarly, bidding adieu to the predominant mythological theme, men of letters opted to subjects with its root in the soil and echoed the voices of their contemporary life in the language of *vox populi*.

No literature can live in watertight compartments. Borrowing freely from languages whose structure was fundamentally different, Kannada evolved an unbroken continuity. In the synthetic stage foreign elements in form, content and metrical composition blended felicitously with the texture of Kannada. Post-colonial influences dominated the literary scene in which English occupied the driver's seat ably replacing Prakrit and Sanskrit. Recharging its batteries and incorporating the alien literary achievements with the indigenous, Kannada literature reached new meridian.

The period of post-colonialization, one of the great axial moments in cross-cultural contacts, witnessed the explosion of many myths that ruled the roost. Social transformations, and language and cultural consciousness generated by colonialism, contributed much in the making of 20th century phenomenon. Exclusionists and ethnic ideologies never existed in Karnataka before colonialism.

Industrialization had wrought revolutionary changes in the very structure of largely hierarchic societies. Villagers, who mainly depended on agriculture, were attracted to become factory workers and migrated to big cities. Educated rural youth did not go back and instead settled in towns seeking jobs in offices, government or otherwise. Obviously frontiers of kinship dissolved and a new circle of extended kinship emerged. Joint families were soon liquidated to make room for small families. Transport system, hotel facilities, English education, cinemas, easy communication, and above all general

elections, contributed to the significant and radical changes in the life style, of middle class society in particular. The number of inter-caste and love-marriages steadily increased. Many of the older beliefs were shaken. As a result of new inventions by scientists, blind faith and superstition were exposed and questioned. Politics had slowly entered all walks of life. Radical thinkers appealed to the youth to be free from the clutches of religious professionals and traditional intellectuals.

These metamorphic changes in the socio-economic fabric added new dimensions in the shifting boundaries of literary cultures. Thus, emergence into history of natural communities and cultures occurred at a watershed moment, and brilliantly expressed subaltern consciousness. Kannada literature responded for the inevitable change, seeking new forms of expression. It has constantly renewed its commitment to eternal human values. As a consequence, this century witnessed the four literary trends and movements of the *Navodaya olim Ramyapantha*, the *Pragatisheela*, the *Navya* and the *Dalita-Baṇḍāya*. In terms of literary culture, these trends were remarkable in many respects.

Through unparalleled creative and aesthetic accomplishments, the felicitous authors have refined the nuances of Kannada sensibilities.

First Dawning

Of the group of authors who were active at the dawn of the century, B. M. Srikantayya and Panje Mangesha Rao are the two names that figure prominently. In his legendary work the '*English Geethagaḷu*' ('the English Songs') composed on the model of Pal grave's '*Golden Treasury of English Lyrics and Ballads*', B. M. Sri freely rendered into Kannada some English verses of his choice. Though a translation, it augured a new era and opened the flood gates of creative talents to compose lyrics, different from the older verses of cliché. This resulted in the birth of *Navodaya olim* Romanticism that soon enveloped Kannada literary scenario and continued to cast its sway for over four decades. B.M. Sri's lecture of 1911, delivered under the auspicious of Vidyavardhaka Sangha, about the 'way' of

according prominence to Kannada, has not lost its significance, even at this distance.

Even though B. M. Sri had lived in the thick of Freedom movement, patriotism never stirred his poesy. Astonishingly he had surrendered himself to the British administration. He was delighted to sing the glory of the Queen of Britain and the king of Mysore. He was thrilled to be associated with the palace than the people, ostensibly appear in the public with the golden socketed necklace bearing the Mysore Royal Emblem, prominently shining on his chest, suggesting that it was dearer to his heart. It is not surprising that he and Masti Venkatesha Iyengar were honored with the cognomen of *Rajasevasakta*, 'willing to serve the king'. Paradoxically, Kuvempu (K.V. Puttappa), favourite student of B. M. Sri, refused the extended invitation to go to the Mysore Palace, to teach the prince, and composed verses deploring the rule of scepter and staunchly supporting the Freedom struggle.

Panje Mangesha Rao, the doyen of modern Kannada literature, wrote brilliant works in prose and poetry. To draw men and matters from the real life around the poet, is in itself a classic departure and a leap forward. Panje composed such scintillating stanzas, with artistic excellence, that critics may go into ecstasies over his compositions containing glimpses of a modern social reformer and a Leftist oriented approach to a by gone life. In the field of children literature and short stories, Panje is a master craftsman. He has successfully done it on accurate lines. Truly he is the father of short stories, in the context of Kannada literature.

Many polar stars sparkled on the firmament of Kannada, after thirties, who made the language opulent and luxuriant by profusely writing masterpieces in different genre. By sheer dint of their towering literary personality, D.V.G. (D.V. Gundappa), Masti, M. Govinda Pai, Pu. Ti. Na. (P.T. Narasimhachar, A. R. Krishna Sastry, A. N. Moorti Rao, Sham. Ba. Joshi, V. Seetharamayya, T. N. Srikantayya, D. L. Narasimhachar, A. N. Upadhye, K. G. Kundanagar, V. K. Gokak, who lived to a ripe old age, created a wide readership and profound scholarship, so transparent in their works.

Nest of Singing Birds

K. V. Puttappa, with Kuvempu as his *nom de plume*, *badshah* of 20th century Kannada literature, set the agenda for literary forms to emulate, when he completed coruscate and vivid lyrics, long narratives, Dramas, short-stories, two epic novels and the *Ramayana Darshanam*, his *magnum opus* and the best epic of the age, in blank verse. He is the only poet who dared every form of literature, from lyric to epic and from fiction to criticism. Recasting spirituality in the mould of secular thinking, some of his verses are singular.

Lyrics of Ambikatanaya Datta *alias* Da. Ra. Bendre, exhibit an amazing quality of transcending boundaries of province, language and time. Bendre, a wizard of words and a literary celebrity, composed vibrant verses to delineate the socio-cultural milieu of his times. He is the only great poet to exploit the indigenous sap, without being influenced by English. Marathi literature had influenced his poetic style.

Writings of Puttappa and Bendre, who heralded a new epoch, belong to the whole of India. For over three decades it is the peerless poetry of these two authors that gained excessive importance for the successive poets who carried forward their literary legacy. Possibly the most valuable contribution, Kannada has made to the World of Book\$, has come from the pen of these two poets who have become living legends. After Kuvempu, V. K. Gokak and S. S. Bhusanoormatha and Sujana have authored *Mahākāvyas* of considerable merit. Masti Venkatesha Iyengar (Srinivasa) lived long to author, in simple and lucid style, many stories, novels, dramas, lyrics and narrative poems, and an Autobiography of great merit.

Pu. Ti. Na's *Sriharicarite*, a long narrative poem, merit a mention along with his lyrical ballads. Although K. S. Narasimha Swamy could not compose a single solid poem, his lyrics reflect glimmers of masterpieces. G. S. Shivarudrappa, popular and leading poet of the post-independence period, has authored significant works on poetics and is considered significant after T. N. Srikantayya's the *Bhāratīya Kāvya*

Mīmāṃse, which has remained unsurpassed. The movement of *Sugama Sangeetha* (light music), launched towards the end of the century, deserves kudos. It caught the imagination of the elite and the common, brilliantly bridged the gap between the poet and the reader, and achieved which the *Navyas* could not. The lovely compositions of the old and new poets found a new lease of life. Very many verses and lyrics of Bendre, Kuvempu, K. S. Na., G. S. Shivarudrappa, K. S. Nissar Ahmad, N. S. Lakshminarayana Bhatta, H. S. Venkatesha Murthy and Doddarange Gowda have become so dear to the hearts of young and old, that they are virtually sung in every nook and corner of the state.

Literary Movements

The *Navodaya* school sought inspiration from the English Romantic poets, while the Progressive school imitated European and Russian masters, committed to leftist ideology. The *Pragathisheela* champion, A. N. Krishna Rao (A. Na. Kru.), wearing Kurta and Pyjama, made mockery of literature written by writers wearing silver-laced turban and who had the royal title of *Rajasevasakta*. A. Na. Kru., Ta. Ra. Su., Basavaraja Kattimani, Niranjana and Chaduranga, the pioneers, pumped more oxygen to the *Pragathisheela Pantha*, and took the reading public by storm, but subsequently the latter two fictionists preferred and pleaded not to be branded as *Pragathisheela* writers. Instead of emulating the more artistic creative fictions of Balzac, the post-medieval author who so splendidly depicted the decadence of France, A. Na. Kru. opted the paradigm of Emile Zola, a coeval author of Balzac, who had an abscess for glorifying the life of lust, of illicit connections and sensuality. Zola portrayed unrestrained libertine characters, and A. Na. Kru. loved to imitate Zola's matrix. Since there was much cry and little wool, soon the movement vanquished to ring down the curtain. Ta. Ra. Suo remained unrivalled master artist of historical novels. Cinemas, based on the novels of Ta. Ra. Su and Chaduranga, have left indelible imprints on the socio-cultural life.

The *Navya* movement that succeeded the Progressive school, reached its zenith in the brilliant works of

Gopalakrishna Adiga who has carved a niche in the, hall of fame. In spite of Adiga and Ananthamurthy, the vibrant *Navya Pantha* could not sustain. The trend had neither mass backing nor the support of contemporary men of letters. The period of Navya genesis was the best of times and at the same time the worst of times. The qualitative change was from Romanticism to Realism and Existentialism. The *Navya* writers brightened the sharpness of literary criticism. It kept the reader away and created a wide gap between the author and reader. It brought with it the curse of groupism, of patting their own men and letting down others.

Under the circumstances emerged the *Dalita-Bandāya* school of thought. Focussing the pitiable plight and position of the downtrodden and creating awareness about the cruel treatment meted out to the out caste in particular, *Dalit* awareness created ripples. To produce a literary alternative, rather a self-adequate literary culture, the *Śūdra* writers selected both material and a dialect of their own, along with nostalgic indigenous methods. The *Dalit* literati, to resist what they saw as intellectual imperialism, appropriated and localized the superposed literacy.

Dalits, the forerunners of composing *vachanas*, had proved their linguistic and aesthetic literary capacities, in the medieval period. A small number of literati did this for the second time in the eighties. *Dalits*, cultural dopes and dupes, being persuaded to trust in ideas opposed to their interests, virtually broke their long literary silence. Contemplating on the pros and cons, they opted to paddle one's own canoe. Incidentally, the life and writings of B. R. Ambedkar, *sui-generis* social reformer, served as beacon light. The ideologies of Babasahib Ambedkar guided the *Dalit* movement to boom to become a vital force in literature and in socio-political life. The long suppressed voice found vent. Devanuru Mahadeva widened the horizons of its creative works. With the punch of his matchless style, fused with the gift of the art of storytelling, the *Oḍalāḷa* and *Kusumabāle* have made his place secured in literature. Worried about the destruction of dreams of the ordinary man, Siddalingayya powerfully portrayed the exploitation of the untouchables. Employing their spoken

dialect with relish and pride, the lyrics of Siddalingayya, befittingly, have acquired common currency and have become songs to inspire the youth. Although limited in number, the writings are indicators of what *Dalita* and *Shudra* intellectuals are trying to do. Stories of Mogalli Ganesh are artistic and potential. Fiction has been the puissant media of the Dalit literature.

Apart from the above four conspicuous literary inclinations, governed by separate ideologies, there was one more attempt that could end up as a precursor to Dalita uprising. The ambitiously presaged *Barehagārara Okkūṭa*, (the writers' federation) surfaced briefly. It circulated its Magna Carta and before the union could show a bold front, the intended literary agitation dropped the curtain. All the ex *cathedra* advice of Kuvempu, packed in his inaugural address, were thrown to winds, and the great expected *coup d'état* failed. But the attempt was not totally infract because it succeeded in provoking *Dalita-Shudra* thought.

Pondering over the above literary schools of thought, one need not conclude that Kannada literature of the century bloomed only under the umbrella of these trends. There were many other authors, who concentrated on their creative works, without being branded as writer of such and such a movement.

Fiction and other genres

Kota Shivarama Karantha, rightly revered as the giant of Kannada literature, wrote forty-three novels of long standing literary worth. The theme of his novels frequently overlap and the characters, such as an aged woman, are repeated. The hero of Karanth's novels, very often, suffers from superiority complex and ego. He brought qualitative changes in the very structure of Yakshagana, the supreme Folk-art of South Kanara, without disturbing its vibrant vigor. S. L. Bhairappa, like Karanth, authored brilliant fictions and he is the most popular novelist. He views life in all its multi-faceted aspects and at the socio-anthropological level.

U. R. Ananthamurthy and Shantinatha Desai, who

basically belong to the *Navya* school, are major fiction writers. Both started as *Navya* critics and highly gifted short-story writers, ended up as master novelists of great merit. Ananthamurthy is a genius of class and calibre who extends the horizons of a literature and open new vistas. Shantinatha Desai has captured finer nuances of Kannada language. Other more successful fictionists are Chaduranga, Mirji Anna Raya and Rao Bahaddur, who have artistically portrayed the saga of the children of the soil. After Masti, Ananda, Bharatipriya and Sadashiva succeeded as celebrated short-story writers.

B. G. L. Swamy, illustrious author, needs a special mention for his brilliant prose style which injected altogether new themes of science. His splendid works had a worthy successor in Poornachandra Tejasvi. They have much in common. Both are sons of very great literary celebrities who are awarded central Sahitya Akademi Awards. Father and son accomplishing literary heights is a rare occurrence. The splendid works of Swamy and Tejasvi, ushered in a new era of literature of knowledge and enlightenment. Narratives of these two authors has a stylistic flourish, nourishing our psyche and imagination that we can relish even on repeat readings. To make his message intelligible in depicting the contours of contemporary socio-economic life, Tejasvi has appropriately picked up the local idiom and phraseology set in the Malnād backdrop: His narratives have acquired an abiding place in the literature of his times.

In all his writings, drama, poetry and fiction, Chandrashekara B. Kambar skilfully employs his creative genius to capsule erotic glamour of the rustic rural life and mystic aura, without losing the balance of poetic elegance. His long classic the *Chakori*, bordering *mahākāvya*, flows with freedom and mystic might and efficacy, and gets longer at frequent intervals to make room for descriptions to exhibit the desired talents of the poet.

The dormant literary skills and artistic competence of women writers, who were mostly silent spectators in all the literary trends and movements for over a millennium, started with a bang after the formation of greater Karnataka. Initially,

like the beginning of a river, women authors were only a handful, but after the International Year of Women, it assumed strength in number and quality. Majority of them chose fiction as their thrust genre, but poetry, travelogue and research was not a taboo. Triveni, Anupama Niranjana capably initiated a new chapter for women to give literary vent to their experiences.

The Theatre

Marvellous modification enlivened the theatre in the post-independence period. The group of plays of the famous dramatist T. P. Kailasam, treating the same subject, had served its purpose and had become so jaded that it had failed to inspire the literary circle. The Grand old Drama companies of Gubbi Veeranna and other professional theatre had receded to play the second Fiddle, and the brilliant historical dramas of Samsa could not be revived. But Sriranga, Girish Karnad, Kambar and P. Lankesh electrified and revitalized Kannada stage. There are considerable cultural-historical parallels and some signal differences. Yet, the sentiments and imagery of the plays of these playwrights, manifest an ancient flavour. The old theme was recast and the plot moulded, to look more realistic and relevant to the modern times. While referring to the successful plays, contribution of the directors like B. V. Karanth, Prasanna, C. G. Krishnaswamy, Basavaiah, Jayashree and other gifted and versatile, cannot be forgotten. Many dedicated amateur artists, highly skilled in the stagecraft, have revived and refined the literary taste of the elite audience. This amelioration and amalgamation of the dilettante made the theatre uprising more meaningful, which had lost its cutting edge and spark. The popular experiment of *Bidi-Nāṭaka* (Street-Plays), in the last decades of the century, has triumphed in reaching the masses. The *Asangata Nāṭaka* (Absurd Plays), were also experimented by Chandrasekhara Patil and others.

In the field of research, R. Narasimhachar's *Karnataka Kavicharite* (the Lives of Kannada Poets) ably provided an infrastructure. A. N. Upadhye and K. G. Kundanagar focussed on the salient features of religious works through their English writing. Continuing the tradition of D. L. N., T. V.

Venkatachala Sastry, M. Chidananda Murthy, M. M. Kalburgi, Hampa. Nagarajaiah and M. B. Neginahala, have explored fresh material to make the field of research more affluent. D. N. Shankara Bhat, H. S. Biligiri, Hampa. Nagarajaiah, M. Chidananda Murthy, K. Kempe Gowda and Sangamesha Savadatti Matha have authored important books in Kannada linguistics.

K. D. Kurtukoti's writings are seminal in the field of literary criticism, though prejudices often blur his objectivity. G. H. Nayak and G. S. Amur, with their insights and originality, stand unique among the critics. The premature death of D. R. Nagaraj deprived Kannada of one of the best equipped critics with intuition, depth and dimension. His mastery of the main literary, cultural and religious currents of the East and West, of the Past and Present was amazing. Ha. Ma. Nayak_ adept columnist, magnetized the literary form of column writing to attain literary recognition by his constant vigilant and highly informative writing. Out of about 40 books on Travelogue, many are devoted to the voyage of America Literature on journey to Europe, Russia and Gulf countries and the travel thrills within the country is not lacking.

Christian Missionaries and scholars like Rev. F. Kittel, B. L. Rice and Channappa Uttangi, rendered yeoman service towards the end of 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century by publishing Dictionaries, Grammars and Translations. In the last two decades of the century, Na. D'Souza has authored fictions of extraordinary merit. Muslim writers, of very high calibre, have enriched Kannada. K. S. Nissar Ahmed's poetry, free from any isms, reveals a highly cultivated and unsophisticated poetic sensibility. The novels of Sara Abubaker have made rapid strides.

Independence of India, the formation of Greater Karnataka, Universities, Kannada Sahitya Parishat - a premier literary and cultural organisation, Vidyavardhaka Sangha of Dharwad, Sahitya, Nataka, Janapada Academies, many more minor and major organisations, contributed to the renaissance and reformation of Kannada. Kannada journals, dailies and literary periodicals, joined in the making of modern Kannada

Prabuddha Karnātaka, Sāhitya Parishat Patrike, Kannada Nudi, Jaya Karnātaka, Jayanti, Jivana, Vāgbhushana, Karnātaka Bhārati, Sādhane, Samkramana, Sakshi, Rujuvatu, Samanvaya, etc., many religion oriented periodicals, the special numbers synchronising Deepavali festival, and the Sunday supplements of dailies also provided proper forum for focussing new literary trends.

Folklore has assumed a significant place in the University curriculum. A large amount of Folk-literature, including poetry, stories, riddles, proverbs and plays of the oral tradition, have been published. D. Javare Gowda, Ji. Sham. Pa., and H. L. Nage Gowda, the pioneers in the field, have prepared proper infrastructure to focus the study of fertile Folklore, multi-dimensional. Publication of *Jānapada Viśvakōśa* and many more books on Folklore by Sahitya Parishat and the Janapada Loka founded by H. L. Nage Gowda, has furthered and strengthened the study of Folk literature.

Epitome

Rendering of a vibrant literature into other trans-local languages, needs no exaggeration. But Kannada literature has not been properly represented on the global forum. Since it has not been focussed on a larger perspective, Kannada has failed to receive its due recognition. Regional writing, however great it may be, is beset with hurdles in reaching larger readership and in travelling beyond their geographical boundaries. For the simple reason of being authored in local languages, works that really deserved world wide circulation, should not go unsung. This emphasises the need and urgency of putting our best to trans-local languages. Almost all the English professors, who chose to author in Kannada, did not write in English, even when they were equipped and capable of translating the major works. Eventually, B. M. Sri., himself professor of English, remarkably rendered English verses to Kannada but had failed to do vice versa.

Pondering over tapping the resources of new areas, Kannada genius is yet to probe and exploit the best of the African, European and Gulf countries literature. Tiruvalluvar's

immortal Tamil poem the *Tirukkural* employed the metrical composition of *dvipadi* (couplet), analogous with Sanskrit *śloka* and Prakrit *gāthā*. Kannada adopted *tripadi*, *chaupadi* and *ṣaṭpadi*, but did not develop any liking for *dvipadi* and *pañcapāda vṛtta* metrical composition.

This survey naturally confines itself to literary achievements of the period under consideration, highlighting the main stream of the age. Kannada literature on the whole, has maintained the homogeneity of this continental life and the continuity of its aged traditions. It has, time and again, created forces which stimulate and unify its collective and dynamic impulses, impelling it to find greater self-fulfilment in the corporate life of India. By letting in influences from the North and the South, the East and the West, the rich and fertile province of Karnataka turned out to be a corridor between the alien influences. This interchange of ideas resulted in a more living flexibility and a deeper catholicity.

But the Kannada genius never lost tract of its individuality and proved that to get delocalised is not to be *de racine*. On the contrary, this absorption of alien influences accelerated the development of Kannada language, literature and culture. Contact with great living currents of Sanskrit and Prakrit literary achievements *ab initio*, with Perso Arabic elements in the medieval eon, and with English from the last three centuries, has brought forth a sturdy renaissance and novelty of themes to Kannada literature. What has been achieved in the past 19 centuries has been accomplished in the span of this century. The great unflinching champions of the spoken language of the people made Kannada literature reach its acme by the end of the century. If the Jñānapitha award is any yardstick to consider the greatness of a literature, Kannada has been in the forefront with seven such Awards and many more to follow.

Being aware of the possibility of commissions and omissions, in a brief survey like this, I have tried my best to avoid the tendency of cataloguing the authors and works. I have been concise, precise and objectively selective in focussing the peaks of the century.

- * This paper is a slightly revised version of the Inaugural address delivered at the Platinum Jubilee National Seminar on *20th Century Kannada Language and Literature* (21-22 March 2002), University of Madras, Chennai.

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MANUAL OF THE BELLARY DISTRICT - AN INTROSPECTION

V. Gopalakrishna

A series of Manuals and Gazetteers giving an exhaustive report of each of the districts of erstwhile Madras Presidency in which vast area of Dravidian Land existed were prepared in the second half of the 19th century. The main object of preparing these reports was to give a detailed account of the history and physical features besides furnishing statistical information on the social and economical conditions of the people of the respective region. A few eminent administrators who were also erudite scholars in more than one discipline were selected and entrusted to work on this strenuous job. The names of J.H. Nelson, F.R. Hemingway, W. Francis, Le Fanu, H.R. Pate, G. Mackenzie, John Kelsall may be mentioned here to name a few such administrator-scholars.

Most of these officers, apart from their proven ability in the administration had an intimate first-hand knowledge of the area on which they wrote. The lack of thorough knowledge in the native tongues in no way hindered their commitment to the assignment as most of them sought out the help of their native subordinates in the field-work and were able to satisfy themselves in the collection of relevant data. These officers in order to overcome some peculiar difficulties on their way to compile the volumes also made requests for information from the general public as well as officers, scholars, religious leaders, zamindars, etc. of the region. Many of the compilers were stationed in remote places where no library facility existed. The records, with which they desired to refer to, were kept in a confused and disorderly state and therefore not easily accessible to them. It was with a great effort they had to hunt-up inscriptions to decipher them so as to write and reconstruct the history of the region. In spite of many hardships of this kind the officers took a genuine interest

the preparation of the volumes. As a result of this arduous and laudable work several publications with a fund of information on varied topics about the book and corner of the districts came out for the benefit of future administrators, scholars as well as historians.

The aim of publishing the Gazetteers and Manuals is stated thus:

"A gazetteer should be popularised, give a condensed account of the life of that district, their history, their physical environment, social traditions the economic activities by which they live the literature through which they express their sensibility, the festivals through which they express their relationship with nature, the institutions that govern them, their struggles, the changes they have as a people undergone periodically."

(Gazetteer of India, Pondicherry dist, 1983)

Keeping in view of the purpose and method of Gazetteers, writing the authors and compilers of the Manuals and Gazetteers have fully justified in the preparation of these useful and most informative documents.

The object of the preface article is to give a comprehensive account of one of such Manuals. Manual of the Bellary District, a large area significant from political, historical as well as cultural point of view. This erstwhile Bellary District was later sub-divided into multiple segments and included in the present districts of Anantapur and Kurnool of Andhra Pradesh and some parts of the Bellary district came under the administrative hold of Karnataka State retaining the same district name.

Manual of the Bellary District was compiled by A.H. Marshall of the Madras Civil Service under the orders of the Government dated 1st September 1869. He was working as the Acting Sub-Collector of North Arcot District of the Presidency when the publication was brought out. The volume was printed by Wm. Thomas at the Lawrence Aylmer Press, Mount Road, Madras in the year 1872.

The Manual is systematically prepared in three parts besides seven Appendices and an Index. Each of these parts contains several chapters which are further sub-divided into sections. The compiler has almost strictly followed the methodology in the compilation then in vogue. The Appendices contain special statistical information on almost all the chapters of this volume.

The compiler in his preface to the Manual has acknowledged Mr. Master and Mr. Gibson, Collector and Head Asst. Collector respectively of the District for their assistance in the compilation. He also expresses his indebtedness to Rev. T. Foulkes, Mr. Macartney, Rev. E. Lewis and Rev. P. Dottle for their help in the preparation of some chapters.

PART I

Part I of this Manual is subdivided into 8 chapters. The first chapter gives general-description of the District. The boundaries, rivers, hills and mountains, total area of the District, the number of taluqs along with exact number of villages, towns and hamlets are mentioned in the chapter. Also a fund of information is available about the languages spoken in different parts of the District. The second chapter contains the details of all the 15 taluqs of the District viz Bellary, Hadagali, Harapanahalli, Hospet, Kudligi (all included now in Karnataka); Anantapur, Dharmavaram, Gooty, Hindupur, Madakasira, Penukonda, Raidurg, Tadpatri (now in Anantapur District of Andhra Pradesh); Adoni and Alur (now included in Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh). Chapter III deals with climate and rainfall during different seasons. A table showing different seasons with details of rising and falling of temperature since 1800 is also furnished. Chapter IV is on Ethnology and population. A detailed information about the Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians with their sub-divisions is given along with the population of each of them.

The diseases like cholera, small-pox, fever, dysentery etc then prevailing in the District are explained in chapter V. An account of Geology and Minerology of the District is rendered in chapter VI which gives a lot of information about the metal

and mineral products available in the District. Chapter VII and VIII unfold the fauna and flora respectively. The compiler is not satisfied with the limited information made available in these two chapters. He states in the preface:

"some of the subjects notably the "Flora" and "Fauna" have not been treated as fully as I could have wished, but the time at my disposal was limited, and I have not been so fortunate as to meet with any one whose knowledge of Botany and Natural History might have supplemented my own deficiencies."

Notwithstanding his feelings of dissatisfaction over his poor performance the information given by him remains a very useful historical documentation.

PART II

Part II has 12 chapters each with a number of sub-sections. Chapter I in this Part is mainly devoted to political history of the District. The compiler has collected information from different sources about the history of the divisions of Karnataka, Telingana and Maharashtra. Then he goes on giving details of Mohammedan invasion and Bahmani dynasty. In a separate section the background for the foundation of Vijayanagar city, the change of dynasties, etc. are narrated in detail. Sections 4 and 5 deal with several political upheavals in the area such as the rise of Poligars and Mahrathas, invasion of Carnatic, death of Shivaji, invasion of Dekhan by Aurangzeb, etc. Section 6, 7 and 8 contain the account of rise of Hyderali and Tippu to power and subsequent Mysore wars.

Chapter II of this part sums up the Revenue history of the District. The system of Revenue collection during the periods of Vijayanagar rulers, Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda, Aurangzeb, Mahrathas, Hyder Ali and Tippu. The problems relating to survey and settlement of lands of the District are discussed in all the sections of this chapter. Non-acceptance of the pattern of assessment of revenue as suggested by Col. Munro by the Governor with the result of the unexpected resignation of Col. Munro and the introduction of triennial and

decennial lease of the lands, etc. are defined in the subsequent sections. Various land reforms brought into practice during the Collectorships of Mr. Campbell, Mr. Robertson and Mr. Pelly are also specified in detail in these sections.

In the chapters III and IV the duties and responsibilities of Collector, Tahsildars, Deputy Tahsildars, Village Officers are narrated. Details of rates of assessment for various categories of lands viz: irrigated lands with tanks, wells, channels, etc. depending on the Circar, and Inam, Zamindari, Ryotwari are given in the subsequent chapters. Also given are the details of other sources of Income i.e., levy on salt in the form of stamp and Income-tax. Apart from these sources there were a number of funds viz: District Road, Jungle Conservatory, Pound, Public bungalow, Choultry, Lungerkhana, Process service and village service through which collections were made. Chapters V and VI sum up all these details.

Chapters VII and VIII deal with the information about courts of civil justice and courts of criminal justice. The powers vested with village Magistrate, sub-magistrate, Divisional magistrate, Magistrate of the District and the Sessions court are also discussed in detail. Chapters IX and X give details of administration of Police and jails respectively. Chapter XI of this part is about the activities of the Public Works Department. Besides the buildings of both military and civil the Department had jurisdiction over the Irrigation works. Information about anicuts, channels and major tanks and the mention of proposed works of both major and minor projects find place in this chapter.

The last chapter of this part is written on the Sandur jaghir, a small principality now included in Karnataka. The statistics regarding population, revenue sources, etc. are given and compared with those of figures available in the previous years. The compiler has taken material from Lt. Newbol's Essay verbatim but does not agree with all the figures available in the essay, for instance about the revenue collected annually from Komaraswamy temple.

PART III

There are 11 chapters in this part. The system of agriculture, the method of growing dry crops like cotton, millet, indigo, wheat and wet crops such as paddy, sugarcane and garden crops like coconut, plantains, betel vines, etc. are elaborately explained in the first chapter. The second chapter gives details of trades and manufactures. They include cotton and woollen goods. The facilities available at dispensaries at Goory, Hospet, Adoni, Anantapur and Bellary and the educational facilities viz: Provincial school, Anglo-vernacular schools, Grant-in-aid schools, Rate schools are described in the third and fourth chapters respectively. Chapters five and six deal with Municipal and Postal administration. The domestic and social habits of the people of the District elaborating the manner of dress, food, housing and general appearance, etc. are dealt with in the chapter seven. The types of coins and units of different weights and measures are given in tabular forms in the eighth chapter. An account of architecture and archaeology of ancient temples, buildings of Hindus and Mohammedans such as Hampi, Tadpatri, Lepakshi, Pennahobilam and Jama Mazjid at Adoni are some of the architectural structures narrated in the ninth chapter. The inscriptions found at Hampi, Kurugodu, Kenchangodu, Tumbul and Goory are highlighted in addition to the details of fairs and festivals held in different places of the District. The last two chapters are fully devoted to explain the activities of London Mission Society and Roman Catholic Mission.

APPENDIX

The volume ends with Appendices and Index. There are seven Appendices giving a lot of extra statistical information on all the three parts of the manual. Appendix 'A' consists of the details of land revenue, abkari, stamp, salt and income-tax. The compiler furnishes a treasure of information about the cultivation, irrigation methods, prices of grain, percentage of inam cultivation, classification of land, etc. in Appendix 'B'. Appendix 'C' gives statistical data regarding police and judicial administration. Taluqwar statistical details on weather reports, population, births and deaths are furnished in Appendix 'D'.

Statements on the activities of the Public Works Department, Municipal administration, classification of schools, etc. are given in Appendix 'E'.

The compiler in the course of the preparation of this volume had contacted many scholars and informants to collect upto-date information on various topics contained in this volume. Many corrections made after consultation are given as footnotes wherever feasible. In the very preface of this book the compiler requests the readers to alter Hindipur to Hindupur for it is named after Hindu Rao. In addition, the compiler has listed them separately indicating the page numbers in Appendix 'F'.

The following examples specify the contents of this Appendix.

Page 61:

Mr. Gibson who knows more of Pennakonda than I (John Kensall) do says, "The words Telugu and Canarese should be transferred. Canarese may be spoken in some of the Western Villages, but I never met a man who could not understand Telugu."

Page 62:

Bukkapatnam is 18 miles from Pennakonda and 16 miles from the point where the road branches from the Trunk Road. Pamdurti is 14 miles from Bukkapatnam. The statement on page 64, line 6 is incorrect.

Appendix 'G' assumes more significance in the context of the Government order on transliteration of native words. A number of native words had been incorporated in Anglo-Indian usage during the rule of Britishers for nearly two centuries. As a result of the absence of proper system in the English style of orthography applied to native names, a number of mistakes crept in when they were employed in English writings. So it was decided to establish necessary corrections with perfect correlation between the local language and English. Therefore, the Government in the order No.11.

dated 12th August 1869 ordered to establish necessary corrections of the towns and villages in correlation with the pronunciation followed in local language. Appendix G gives an exhaustive list of names of principal towns transliterated to English as directed in the Government order mentioned above.

The list is given in a tabular form with four columns. In the first column the name of town or village is furnished as used in the English records of the administration. The second column contains the population of the same town or village. In the third column the name is corrected as per the Govt. order and given in Telugu script, as prevalent in the local language. The Roman transliteration given in the last column is based on the Telugu script.

Some of the names listed in the Tabular form are

Ordinary Spelling	Population	Telugu	Corrected Spelling
Kenchangude	1021	కెంచంగుడి	Kenchanguddam
Kottakotta	2110	కొట్టా	Kottakotta
Uzzall	1763	అల్ల	Azall
Callandrug	2509	కల్లంద్రుగ	Kalyandrug

When John Kensall undertook the preparation of this volume only a few models were available before him for his guidance. The *Madras Country - A Manual* compiled by J.H. Nelson (1862), and *A Manual of Vizagapatnam* were brought out under the series. In spite of many inconveniences the compiler has systematically prepared the volume after collecting maximum data available from all sources. Since photography and cartography were not so well developed and widespread in India as in European countries he could not make use of them in the volume to illustrate important documents. It is obvious in a number of chapters that he has drawn conclusions after an indepth study of the subject before drawing his conclusions. Thereby it can be said without any hesitation that the compiler is not mere a compiler but himself a versatile author and a research scholar.

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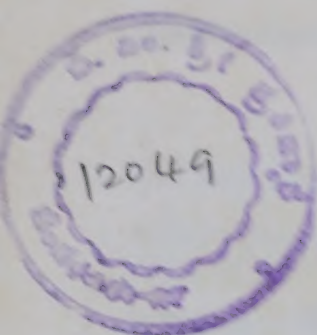
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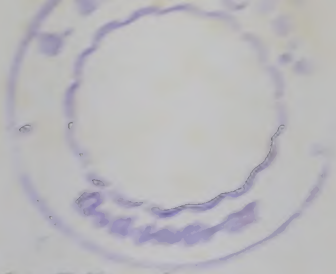
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